University of Alberta

LOCAL UKRAINIANNESS IN TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A CANADIAN PRAIRIE COMMUNITY

by

Natalia V. Shostak

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ukrainian Folklore

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies
Department of Anthropology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2001

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-68993-X

Canada

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Natalia V. Shostak

Title of the Thesis: "Local Ukrainianness in Transnational Context: An Ethnographic Study of a Canadian Prairie Community"

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year this Degree Granted: 2001

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and expect as herein before provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

N Shostak

St. Thomas More College
1437 College Drive
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W6
CANADA

September 28, 2001

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Local Ukrainianness in Transnational Context: an Ethnographic Study of a Canadian Prairie Community* submitted by Natalia V. Shostak in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ukrainian Folklore.

Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky

Dr. Gregory Forth

Dr. Jean DeBernardi

Dr. Pauline Greenhill

Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky

Dr. Frances Swyripa

September 28, 2001

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the continuity and vitality of Ukrainianness in a Canadian context through an ethnographic examination of the community of Mundare, Alberta. The town of Mundare is almost a hundred years old, located in the heart of the Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta. The research also includes comparative ethnographic work in Hrytsevolia, a community in Ukraine which was one of the primary sources for historic immigration to Mundare. From the theoretical viewpoint, this dissertation addresses the question of local ethnic identity in times of late modernity. As an ethnographic case study, this work deals with local Ukrainianness in the Western Canadian rural town as experienced by its community in the last decade of the twentieth century. I address this question by exploring the representations and enactments of Ukrainianness in this community and examine how local Ukrainianness is represented, lived, and practiced. I raise the question whether Mundare will remain a distinct *community* in which Ukrainianness is lived and practiced, or whether it will gradually move into a new stage, that of being a *locality* wherein Ukrainian identity becomes exclusively representational and hence, becomes *a past* that has been preserved, but is no longer a vital practice *in the present*. To address this question I consider the development of Mundare Ukrainianness

beginning from a historical and global perspective. I claim that the central feature characterizing the history of Mundare Ukrainianness has been the phenomenon of *Ukrainian transnationalism.* With Ukraine's independence in 1991, the transnational connections of Ukrainians in Ukraine and Canada revived significantly. Given this revival, I address the question whether a new round of identity negotiation between Mundare Ukrainians and Ukrainians from Ukraine has the potential to also revive and move Mundare Ukrainianness from the domain of the past into the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been working on my thesis on and off for about four years. Many individuals and organizations became involved in this research in one way or another providing me with "field data" or new ideas. My acknowledgement and gratitude go to the friends I made and acquaintances I met "in the field." Firstly, I would like to recognize all those people who generously shared with me their knowledge about themselves, their life, and their community. I would like to thank Marylin Mandiuk, the fine Mundare's own quilter, Dagmar Ries, the curator of the Basilian Fathers Museum in Mundare, Christine Pawluk, Mary Shelast, and Evelyn Tymchuk, all members and once presidents of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Mundare, Roman Warawa, the president of the National Hall in Mundare, and many others for helping me with this project. A special thank you goes to the families of Brenda Prins, Iryna and Bogdan Pivovarchuk, who always treated me like a member of their family and let me stay during so many winter nights. I thank the Mundare School and David Harvey, the principal, for allowing me to meet and talk with students. Also, I appreciate the help and support I was given by Mundare Town Council, Councilor Alex Bendera, and Mayor Ed Stawnichy. I am also grateful to the Bakus'ko family in Hrytsevolia, who took me in and let me share their life while I was staying in their village during 1998 and 1999. Many of my university friends and colleagues have helped me to crystallize the ideas and the argument presented in this thesis, though in no way are they responsible for the flows and inaccuracies that may be found in this work. I am grateful to Frances Swyripa, Professor in the Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta, for inspiring me intellectually all these years. I am also grateful to Susan Ingram, who holds Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the same University, for her helpful comments on some parts of this work. And finally, my profound gratitude goes to my long term friend and partner Christopher Peet. This thesis would not be written the way it is, if it were not for the generous support I received all these years from Chris. His consideration, intellect, and critical eye were always at my disposal whether I needed to probe my new ideas, polish my argument, or just get back on track with my work.

TABLE OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE. SITUATING MUNDARE: COMMUNITY AND LOCALITY 10

1.1. DEFINING COMMUNITY AND LOCALITY 10
1.2. GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL SPACE 14
Social space 15
Population profile 16
Ethnic composition 17
Mundare: local perspectives 17
1.3. MUNDARE: FROM LOCALITY TO COMMUNITY 19
The Basilians and the Sisters 21
Becoming a Ukrainian community 23
From past to present 26
Into the future 27

CHAPTER TWO. MUNDARE UKRAINIANNESS: REPRESENTATIONS 30

2.1. WHY FOCUS ON REPRESENTATIONS? 30
2.2. *MEMORIES OF MUNDARE* 36
Memories *and history* 37
The organization of Memories 40
Reading the book 42
Conclusions 52
2.3. THE MUSEUM 53
Museum and history 54
The story of the Basilians and Sisters 65
Visual symbols of Ukrainianness 67
Conclusions 69
2.4. ON GENERATIONS AND FAMILY HISTORIES 69
"Generation" metaphors 71
'Kin' metaphors 73
Family histories 74
Organization of family histories 77
Museum presentation of family histories 80
Conclusions 81

CHAPTER THREE. MUNDARE UKRAINIANNESS: PRACTICED 83

3.1. FROM REPRESENTATIONS TO PRACTICE 83
3.2. THE MUNDARE MURAL: COLLECTIVE HISTORY, INDIVIDUAL AGENCY. 87
Composition of the mural 89
Interpretations 100
3.3. FROM COMMEMORATIVE TO ROUTINE PRACTICES 104
Local Ukrainianness and local food ways 107
3.4 CATERING UKRAINIANNESS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF A COOKING EVENT 114
Interpretations 121
Conclusions: from practice to representation 125

CHAPTER FOUR. MUNDARE UKRAINIANNESS: TRANSNATIONAL CHALLENGES 128

4.1. MUNDARE, UKRAINIAN TRANSNATIONALISM, AND KINSHIP 130
4.2. MUNDARE UKRAINIANNESS IMAGINED: VISIONS FROM UKRAINE 136
Locating Hrytsevolia in history 140
Dealing with departures 144
Mediating absence 145
The rituals of return 149
Conclusions 150
4.3 *ZUSTREECH* AND NEW NEGOTIATIONS OF UKRAINIANNESS IN MUNDARE 152
Zustreech *beginnings* 154
The historical roots of Zustreech' cultural practices *159*
Involvement with locals, non-locals, and visiting Ukrainians from Ukraine *160*
Cultural program: new developments 162
Obzhynky 164
The contact zone: conclusions 171

CONCLUSION 173

BIBLIOGRAPHY 187

APPENDICES 202

APPENDIX 1. POPULATION IN 1996 AND 1991, LAMONT COUNTY, MUNDARE AND OTHER TOWNS 203
APPENDIX 2. ETHNIC ORIGIN OF POPULATION OF MUNDARE AND LAMONT COUNTY 204
APPENDIX 3. IMMIGRATION FROM UKRAINE TO CANADA, ALBERTA, EDMONTON 206

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Mundare Main Street. 1998. 15

FIGURE 2: Entrance to the Permanent Gallery. Basilian Fathers Museum (exhibit curator Dagmar Rais)..... 58

FIGURE 3: Permanent Gallery "New Home in the West," Basilian Fathers Museum (exhibit curator Dagmar Rais). 61

FIGURE 4: Thematic circles of the mural composition. 90

FIGURE 5: Central painting (#5). 90

FIGURE 6: Paintings #4 and #6. 95

FIGURE 7: Paintings #3 and #7. 96

FIGURE 8: Painting #8. 97

FIGURE 9: Painting #1. Artist Seyi Etim at work. November 2000. 98

FIGURE 10: Painting #9. 99

FIGURE 11: *Babas* making cabbage rolls. 118

FIGURE 12: Monument to Mundare Sausage. 126

FIGURE 13: Display in Nebyliv Museum of Ukrainian Emigration. Photo courtesy Kate Tichon. 146

FIGURE 14: Maryntsiunia Smal' and the "Canadian house." Hrytsevolia 1998. 148

FIGURE 15: Hrystevolia funeral, 1960(?). Photo courtesy Hanna Pyvovarchuk. 149

FIGURE 16: Return of Liusia Shelast to Hrytsevolia from Mundare. 1966(?). Photo courtesy Hanna Pyvovarchuk. 149

FIGURE 17: Zustreech Christmas Performance. 1998. 158

Introduction

Kyiv, Ukraine, 1989: "We were told we would be sent to Siberia if we wrote to them, so letters stopped coming, and we were afraid of writing as well," she said, speaking through tears. Liuba, a woman in her fifties, had just arrived, having taken the first available train from her village in Volyn' (western Ukraine) 500 km away. We did not know each other, but she had come in response to a letter I had written on behalf of an American friend of mine: inquiring, with little hope or expectation, about lost relatives. Liuba had departed immediately. The idea that she might meet the American side of her family, or even an intermediary who knew them, sent her packing canned homemade meat, *salo*, smoked turkey, precious items not available for the moment in the capital and then rushing to my mother's and my apartment. She stayed at our apartment for two days. This was the most unusual visit of our lives. Neither my mother nor I had personal connections to villagers from western Ukraine. A sequence of chance and circumstance begun decades before any of us were born and precipitated by global events far beyond our reach had brought a stranger to stay with us and thrust me into an unprecedented space between two worlds.

Liuba's visit was my first exposure to a world of dislocated Ukrainian families and disconnected kin. As well, it was the first time I personally experienced the distant presence of overseas Ukrainians. Being a city resident and, moreover, being a city resident in central Soviet Ukraine, I knew virtually nothing about emigration from rural western Ukraine to North America and about Ukrainians abroad. In the late 1980s, I was not the only one. The topic of "them over there" was taboo, and was distorted in Soviet scholarship to the degree that "they" were presented only as communist-minded workers struggling for human freedom in the oppressive world of capitalism. This image was of little interest or attraction for Ukrainians who learned to ignore the parlance of Soviet propaganda in their everyday life. Ignoring the ideology and its rhetoric often led to ignorance of the topic. That this "other Ukrainian world" would be brought to my door by an unknown woman from a western Ukrainian village astonished me and eventually led me to question both my ignorance and what was ignored.

Edmonton, Alberta, 1989: the writer Fedir Pohrebennyk, a member of a cultural delegation from Ukraine, meets Fred Paranchych, a second generation Ukrainian Canadian and a retired executive from a large Alberta company. Fred learns from Ivan about a family called "Numayko" in the village of Rozhniv, Western Ukraine, who are descendants of the Paranchyches Fred knows to be his ancestors. Upon returning to Ukraine, the writer puts the Canadian Paranchyches in touch with the Numaykos. Since then, they have been regularly corresponding with each other. About sixty letters were exchanged between the two families during the 1990s. Fred and his wife, neither of whom has ever been to Ukraine, are now regularly updated with the help of letters, pictures, and recently, even e-mail, on Numayko family developments, the weather in Rozhniv, crops, and household matters. Their translator, who has been assisting with the correspondence for the past seven years, even visited Rozhniv on one of her trips to Ukraine, from where she brought stories and pictures of the Numaykos and of the everyday life of Rozhniv. The life of the Numaykos in Rozhniv, as mediated through letters, stories, and pictures, has entered and become an accepted part of the life of the

Paranchyches in Canada. Rozhniv lost some of its remoteness and vagueness as only the home of the Paranchych ancestors. It became a parallel and familiar village. Their kin in Rozhniv, and the particularities of their world, are an extension of the Paranchyches' own family life, habitually and routinely discussed and imagined within their own world.

What unites these stories is not only my presence as the intermediary in both cases, but the fact that both vividly illustrate a new kind of experiences, and new possibilities for worlds that had long been separate. These experiences and possibilities became available to many Ukrainians inside and outside Ukraine during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Not only the kin who were rediscovering each other across oceans and over generations, but also those who came in contact with them, including those fortunate like myself to be caught in between. Liuba's connection to her never-seen overseas kin suddenly seemed realizable. A Canadian family's roots and lost kin connections to the "old country" were unexpectedly re-discovered. Throughout the 1990s this trend has continued.

These reconnections of ordinary people with kin presumed lost were triggered by political transformation in Europe in the late 1980s. This political reshaping of Europe led to the end of most of the communist power in the world in the 1990s: the Berlin wall fell in 1989; "the velvet revolution" of 1989 ended socialism in Czechoslovakia; and in 1991, finally, the Soviet Union disintegrated into 15 newly-independent states. Among these was Ukraine.

Against this historical background, a new phase in the life of Ukrainians worldwide began, the revival of transnational Ukrainian connections. Transnational Ukrainian connections point here to the experiences and actions directed to, or deriving from, the interaction between native Ukrainians and those living elsewhere. Intensified *trans*national experiences transcend the borders of at least two states. In so doing they challenge the popular cultural cliches of the state and the nation, transform people's imaginings of others and themselves, and affect human agency and its exercise. These experiences now frequently reach into the everyday lives of ordinary persons in even the remotest of villages and farms, whether in western Ukraine or western Canada.

Two questions that this study raises are as following. What is the effect of this transnational revival of the 1990s on the lives of Ukrainians in Canada? How does it affect Ukrainian identities in Canada? Prior to Ukraine's independence, what often united the majority of Ukrainians in North American diaspora[1] was an understanding that while Ukraine was under Soviet rule, the Ukrainians in diaspora were responsible for the continuity and vitality of Ukrainian culture, language, and traditions, as these were perceived as under threat in the Soviet Union. The mission "to preserve Ukrainian culture" was spelled out in numerous public manifestations, organizational agendas, and other statements. In this sense, the political aspect of Ukrainian identity was indistinguishably fused with its cultural side, whether in terms of the diaspora's duty to preserve and maintain "Ukrainianness" or defend the right to national sovereignty.

---

[1] I understand that the term 'diaspora' is loaded with many relational meanings. Here I use this term in reference to Ukrainians outside of Ukraine who are organized in the community at large and who recognize a link between their Ukrainian identity and their historical homeland, be it easily accessible or not.

On the other hand, other claims were made by academics, for example that the majority of Ukrainian Canadians believed that the contact with Ukraine was much needed, in order to revitalize Ukrainianness in Canada. In his sociological study, Bohdan Kordan asserted that 82% of all Ukrainian Canadians favoured a relationship with the then Soviet Ukraine because "cultural and educational contacts with Soviet Ukraine would promote the further development of the Ukrainian community in Canada " (1985: 27).

Not surprisingly, the Ukrainian community in Canada embraced Ukraine's independence wholeheartedly. Ukrainian-Canadian spokespersons and academics speaking on behalf of their community saw in independent Ukraine a new chance for the revival of Ukrainianness in Canada. An independent Ukraine now "available" to the diaspora was perceived as a possible solution to many "problems" in the diaspora itself pertaining to its "Ukrainianness" (such as decreasing usage of Ukrainian language, decreasing enrolment in Ukrainian studies, and declining population due to interethnic marriage, and assimilation). A revival of interaction between the diaspora and Ukraine and the potential influx of new immigrants was understood as beneficial for a renewal of the diaspora and revitalization of its cultural institutions.

The ambivalence of Ukrainian-Canadian discourse with respect to Ukrainian identity in Canada should be noted.[2] Self-appointed spokespersons and academics have long proclaimed the importance of the diaspora for upholding "authentic" Ukrainian culture while the oppressed homeland loses its identity beneath Soviet – "Russian" – domination. On the other hand, with Ukraine's independence, and even prior to it, they bemoaned the dismal outlook for Ukrainian culture in the diaspora and hoped for a rejuvenation from the homeland, admitting that the "true" Ukrainianness could not be preserved in the diaspora. The following passage illustrates this:

> With the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state in 1991, an exciting new chapter has begun in the Ukrainian-Canadian experience. Although there are signs that assimilation is starting to severely erode the foundation of Ukrainian-Canadian Society, there is also evidence that *growing interaction with Ukraine is helping to revitalize and redefine Ukrainian identity in Canada* at the turn of the new millennium. (Museum display text, Basilian Fathers Ukrainian Museum, Mundare. Emphasis mine.)

The above text claims that renewed transnational connections with the "old country" will help to revitalize Ukrainian-Canadian identity and community at large. But how does this transnationalism affect ordinary Ukrainian Canadians?

Recalling Liuba and the Paranchyches, the rediscovery of kin can significantly impact upon persons' lives and introduce entirely new dimensions and possibilities to their worlds.[3] How does this exposure and interaction with "other" Ukrainians affect the "Ukrainianness" of Ukrainian Canadians in the late 1990s? If it was indeed in a time of "crisis" and in need of "revitalization," what is the result of renewed contact? How do

---

[2] Though I use the term "identity" in singular here, I am aware of a variety of different modes of Ukrainian identities in Canada. This dissertation deals with one its mode.

[3] As of 2001, the Paranchyches are considering a family trip to Ukraine. Within the last decade, Liuba's American kin has visited her village several times and her children are contemplating moving to the States.

people experience such contact in the town of Mundare, a small Ukrainian-Canadian farming community in western Canada? How do they experience renewed contacts with Ukraine in the context of their daily lives, rather than in the context of their participation in official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse? How is such transnationalism experienced in a rural locale, which (unlike urban settings) community is still to a great degree defined by person-to-person interactions, by a greater continuity of local genealogies, and by stronger attachments to territory where people live?

To address these questions it is necessary to focus on a specific site; not the Ukrainian-Canadian community at large, which would require predominantly a reliance on official discourse and a consideration of the political aspects of Ukrainian identity. My interest is in local ethnic identity, and this study is an ethnographic case study dealing with the experience of "local Ukrainianness" in the community of Mundare during the last decade of the twentieth century. I have chosen Mundare and the area for a number of reasons.

First, in Mundare, there is interest and pride, both officially and unofficially, in preserving and displaying Mundare's Ukrainian heritage. There are multiple types of representation already in place and continually being produced: the Basilian Fathers Ukrainian Museum, a local history book, local family histories, the painting of murals, the building of monuments such as the Mundare sausage (see figure 12), and symbolic references throughout the locality. Mundarites themselves refer to these multiple representations as evidence of and for their Ukrainianness. On the other hand, Mundare is also a good site for examining the *practices* of Ukrainianness at an everyday, non-representational level. At this level, the understandings of the Mundarites are no longer "official," as in the case of representations, but instead are often routine, taken-for-granted, and unquestioned. For an ethnographer, this is invaluable; local ethnic identity is not only about what persons *say* it is (or, represent it as), but also about what they *do* (in practice).

Second, settled by Ukrainians at the end of the nineteenth century, the Mundare area has been for a long time intimately connected to Ukraine ("the old country") by two fundamental and different ties: those of kinship and *zemliatsvo*,[4] and those maintained by the two Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic monastic communities, the Order of St. Basil the Great and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. These ties have allowed Ukrainians in the Mundare area to maintain involvement with the "old country" explicitly and symbolically until the establishment of Soviet rule in western Ukraine in 1939 prevented these relationships from being actively pursued. The transnational context of the 1990s differs from that of the late nineteenth early twentieth centuries. The renewed contact with kin in the 1990s, as my opening stories illustrated, points to "rediscovery" of "other" kin and "other" Ukrainians rather then to continuing transnational connections between Ukrainian families on both sides of the ocean.

Third, the Mundare community, consisting of people living in town proper and those living in the neighbouring farms, presents itself as a community which boasts a relatively

---

[4] In this study, I deal with kinship not as much in terms of social relationships, as in terms of descent and genealogical relationships. The term *zemliatstvo* indicates a bond of similar intensity to that between family. It is the recognized bond between people from the same locality while away from home.

high concentration of a sedentary population of farmers of Ukrainian descent. Many local families continue to farm in the same area as they farmed five generations ago.[5] Local people often see their community possessing a Ukrainian tradition, shared memories of common history, and genealogical continuity.

For these reasons Mundare is an excellent site for conducting an ethnographic study concerned with local Ukrainianness in the context of an independent Ukraine. The reasons given above determined the shape this study had taken.

My intent as an ethnographer is to examine how Ukrainianness in Mundare is *lived*: that is, how it is understood and practiced, both explicitly and implicitly.[6]

My first chapter situates Mundare town and the area within the broader context of history. There I discuss three distinguishable stages that Mundare has undergone in its pursuit of becoming a community. I look at how Mundare evolved from being a mere settlement to becoming a community with the distinct sense of its own identity. I also discuss these developments from the perspective of transnational Ukrainian context.

In the second chapter of this study I focus on representations of Mundare Ukrainianness, both official and unofficial. As is clear throughout this study, Mundare too has an official discourse, and it is not immune to the effects and influences of the institutionalized culture of Ukrainian Canadians. Therefore one important aspect of this study will be its attention to local "official" discourse and institutionalized culture, and its use of representations, for it is through these means that locals, too, express how they understand their Ukrainianness and where its *continuity* over time is lodged. In particular, chapter two examines the narrative representations of Mundare Ukrainianness as presented in the local history book *Memories of Mundare* (henceforth *Memories*) in the local Ukrainian Museum (henceforth the museum), and in family histories produced in the Mundare area.

In the third chapter the discussion moves from examining representations to analysing practices of local Ukrainianness within the context of everyday life. In the context of non-institutionalized culture and its everyday practices, one encounters a whole spectrum of diverse imaginations and understandings of what Ukrainianness is. Non-institutionalized culture is observable in everyday practices. It is at the level of everyday life locals express, not explicitly but tacitly, their Ukrainianness, and wherein we find its *vitality*. In the third chapter, then, I examine two of these practices, the design of a mural wall and a cooking event. I attempt to interpret the complex relationship between how Ukrainianness is tacitly lived, and how it is explicitly understood and represented.

In the fourth chapter I return to the question of transnational contexts and challenges that Mundare Ukrainianness has been facing since the 1990s. I examine the meaning and the role Mundare's transnational ties play in current redefinitions of local Ukrainianness. The

---

[5] Lamont county and Mundare township maps produced in various years (eg. 1949, 98) suggest that many farms are owned by the same family clans for decades.

[6] It is not my task to define the whole content of the general phenomenon of Ukrainianness in Canada. Instead I assume that the reader will understand that by evoking tokens and symbols of Ukrainianness Canadian style, references are made to larger sets of meanings and contexts in which Ukrainian Canadian culture functions today.

Mundare area has strong kinship links to several villages in western Ukraine, in particular to the village of Hrytsevolia. These links were instrumental in the times of early settlement in Mundare area, as immigrants arriving later would follow up on these links of family kinship and *zemliatstvo* in staking land claims, working the land, and establishing themselves together. Those factors were significant in the formation of the community, as immigration continued from the turn of the twentieth century until the late 1920s and supplied a stream of newcomers that fit themselves into the already-established networks that had been determined through these kinship links.

In the 1990s, immigration into the Ukrainian bloc[7] began again, first as a trickle during perestroika and then with increasing regularity after Ukraine's independence. Again, these patterns of migration are determined by social relations: newly arrived Ukrainians followed the paths already laid down by the networks to which they belonged. The Mundare area exemplifies the phenomenon of the "rediscovery of kin" and interactions between the locality, its Ukrainian identity, and a transnational situation. Consequently in the fourth chapter I examine the roots and the renewal of transnational contact between Mundare and its overseas kin. Obviously the contact is mutual, but the understandings from either side are neither identical nor exactly reciprocal. For reasons that emerge in chapters two and three, I look first at the imaginings of Hrytsevolians of their Mundare kin, and secondly examine the interactions in Mundare of recent immigrants from Ukraine (and Hrytsevolia).

Overall, two themes run throughout this ethnographic study. They are brought about as an effect of this global transnational context, and will recur at each point of analysis of the Mundare locality and its Ukrainianness. The social phenomena of *reflexivity* and *imagination* prove crucial for the reproduction, representation, and practices of Ukrainianness in Mundare. While the social phenomena of reflexivity and imagination should be viewed as exclusively modern products, but are deeply rooted in the history of humankind overall, there has been some qualitative shift in how these two phenomena have been developing in modern times and especially in times of late modernity. By late modernity I understand a historical period roughly coinciding with the last quarter of the twentieth century. Two particular characteristics that define this period are important for me here. One is the accelerated advancement of transportation, communication and media technologies; the second is the mass dispersion of specialized knowledge and wide access to this knowledge (and information) by non-specialists. These two characteristics have significantly affected the social practices of reflexivity and imagination in times of late modernity.

Modern reflexivity is a notion introduced by British sociologist and philosopher Anthony Giddens (1991). In Anthony Giddens' understanding, the reflexivity of modernity relies to a great degree on the "externalization" of specialized knowledge and its later

---

[7] "Ukrainian bloc" refers to the territory of north east of Edmonton, where Ukrainians settled compactly during the area develoment in the last decade of the 19th and first two decades of the 20th century. This farming area and towns like Lamont, Smoky Lake, Vegreville, Myrnam, Andrew, and others, still boast a high concentration of Ukrainian population and a distinct Ukrainian envionment (for example by having built numerous Ukrainian onion-domed churches). For discussion on the Ukrainian Bloc boundaries see Swyripa (1976).

dispersion within the everyday domain. In modern times, specialists' knowledge on any subject matter may become public knowledge. When such specialized knowledge is published and circulated, it also becomes publicized and endowed with authority. Presented in the form of books and other media it not only *reports* on aspects of social life, it also routinely *organizes* and *alters* them (Giddens 1991: 14).

In the case of Mundare, examples can be found in the reproduction of public formats for ostensibly private projects, such as local family histories following the local history book published by a committee especially set up especially for that purpose.

While working on this study I have also come to question how seemingly new practices of social imagination affected the formation and development of Mundare understandings of its Ukrainianness and its connections to Ukraine. Arjun Appadurai (1991) coined the phrase the *new social practice of imagination* to describe what he claims as a distinctly modern phenomenon. This "new social practice," like Giddens' notion of modern reflexivity, also owes much to new technologies, but also to the formation of new "migratory audiences." Appadurai's claim is that imagination of other worlds and possibilities have been made available *en masse* as a matter of routine; imagination is no longer confined to elite audiences or restricted venues such as art or religion. As a result these new possibilities of imagining oneself and one's future impact upon a broad range of cultural phenomena, in particular, something as intimately tied to the imagination as one's identity, or one's overseas kin whom one has not seen for generations.

Appadurai's view is intriguing and would seem to apply in the case of Mundare. In pursuing his notion, however, I have found that for Ukrainian transnationals this "social practice of imagination" is not, as Appadurai argues, a recent phenomenon which relies upon the intersection of intensified mass migration of the late twentieth century and new technologies. Instead, it coincides with the first migrations of Ukrainians and relies primarily upon the social institution of kinship.

Both modern reflexivity and new practices of the imagination have contributed and continue to contribute to the formation of the local lifeworlds of Mundare people. Reflexivity plays a fundamental part in the creation and understanding of representations, while the social practice of imagination has beginnings contemporary with the very foundings of the Ukrainian-Canadian communities in the new country. Both phenomena are effects of the global context in which localities like Mundare find themselves.

As an ethnographer, I entered Mundare in 1997, and collected data from the field between 1997 and 2001, taking one year off from September 1999 until September 2000. Much like the farmers — members of the Mundare community who live near but not in the town proper — commuted regularly into the town to take part in private and public activities, and attend community events. I visited the Senior Citizens' Home as well as Mundare's school. In addition to conducting formal interviews with local people, taking a survey, and organizing several group discussions with children, I also – and this occupied far more of my time – visited informally with various persons, befriending some and often staying for extended visits. I tended to prefer these open-ended unstructured discussions, conversations, and overnight visits which were often more revealing and more respectful of my "informants" than the question and answer sessions during official interviews. In addition to my work in Mundare, I also conducted similar research in

Hrytsevolia, in May 1998 and May 1999. In both locations I wrote down my observations in field diaries.

An intriguing and often rewarding part of working on this project was my taking on the role of intermediary between the two worlds, occasionally as language translator, but far more commonly for "cultural" translation of different conceptions and assumptions. I also explored other towns in the Ukrainian bloc. I traveled and stayed at farms as well as in Vegreville, Andrew, and Smoky Lake.

Over the course of this study, in addressing the question of how local ethnic identity maintains itself in times of late modernity and how "local Ukrainianness" is asserted, lived, and practiced in Mundare, I have not forgotten the ambivalent claims of the Ukrainian-Canadian elite: that the vitality of Ukrainian culture depended on Ukrainian Canadians during the time of Soviet rule, and that the newly-independent Ukraine was a welcome development for it could revitalize Ukrainian-Canadian "Ukrainianness." I have kept this in mind while trying to ascertain the condition of "Ukrainianness" at the unofficial, everyday, and local level. One important issue I address is how, within the context of late modernity, the local Ukrainian community is to maintain the continuity and vitality of its Ukrainianness.

This question emerged for the Mundare community itself when it in the late 1970s it became openly concerned with the question of 'preserving' its culture by means of representation. This certainly was not the first time the Mundare community became concerned with the continuity and vitality of its culture and identity. Such concerns re-emerged due to a particular set of historical circumstances that began to threaten the continuity of Mundare's lifeworld and identity and resulted in the production of the large scale *narrative* representations. I call these years "times of rupture," for the unquestioned nature and spontaneous reproduction of the local lifeworld began losing its certainty and guarantees. Mundare and other rural communities on the Canadian prairies were subjected during these years to the same sense of nostalgia for their disappearing world, a world without television, telephones, water in the house was perceived by many as irreversibly moving into the past due to economic progress, advancement of agricultural, communication, and transportation technologies, and the reorganization of governmental policies dealing with farming. In Mundare its Ukrainianness became the means for securing a sense of stability and the community's continuity.[8]

As with all historical periods, defining them is necessarily vague; while the "times of rupture" for the settled community of Mundarites could be said to start already as early as the late 1950s, the sense of threat to local Ukrainianness definitely moved into the foreground by the 1970s and has remained in the foreground throughout the last quarter of the century. I argue that the question of "preservation" and, thus, claims of *continuity* of local Ukrainianness was raised with a new kind of determination in the 1970s as a response to a perceived rupture. The continuity of Ukrainianness was felt to be threatened. Narratives became an important means for promoting the idea of continuity of

---

[8] As Frances Swyripa pointed out in our discussion over this issue, Mundare in this respect is no different from "Scandinavian" New Norway or "German" Stony Plain, the communities located not far away from Mundare.

local Ukrainianness, and at the same time the means for its mythologization.[9] However, despite a fairly constant production of representations of numerous sorts, the sense of rupture remains. While Ukrainian continuity is constantly asserted on the level of representations, community members perceive that the vitality of local practices of Ukrainianness is in decline. At this point, to consider this question "from the natives' point of view," would be a legitimate move. In the case of this study, however it is not sufficient; the question must be considered in light of the locality's transnational context.

Transnationalism, having come into the foreground for many Ukrainians around the world presents new challenges to Mundare's Ukrainianness. Yet, it does more than that. In the case of a rediscovered kin it often reveals incompatible views of what constitutes "true" Ukrainianness. It also adds a dynamic and ambiguous twist to an already complex situation. The fate of "Ukrainianness" for a locality like Mundare depends on its coming to terms with its own past (which includes long-separated kin) and on its coming to terms with a newly independent Ukrainian nation-state (which implies the rediscovery of its own kin). This "coming to terms" is something local Ukrainians can undertake without relying on the Ukrainian-Canadian elite, an institutionalized culture, or an official discourse. They can achieve this through relying on their own implicit or explicit local understandings.

---

[9] By "mythologization" I mean the process of interpretation of the past in which the "story" of local Ukrainianness is constructed to present this past in positive terms of development, maturation, growth, and progress. Respectively, I use the term "myth" in this study in reference to such "stories," or representations, personal or collective, in which people's experiences are given order and positive explanation.

Chapter One. Situating Mundare: community and locality

This chapter situates Mundare as a *locality* and as a *community* within the broader context of history. Referring to "Mundare" I mean not only the town proper but also its vicinities, surrounding farms and farmlands, in which people consider themselves part of the "Mundare community." I first define how the notions of community and locality are employed in this study. Then, looking at Mundare's relationships with the outside world throughout the twentieth century, I discuss how these relationships affected Mundare and the development of its Ukrainian identity. While located seemingly far away from major intersections of global cultural flows and centres of political disputes of twentieth century history, Mundare was nevertheless subjected to the reverberations of the twentieth century history with its political unrest, technological advancement, and increased global cultural flows. This chapter also presents how Mundare history has been represented by the local community itself. Representations of Mundare history divide it into three relative stages, from being a mere territory, to becoming locality, and to growing into a strong *Ukrainian community* in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

1.1. Defining community and locality

This thesis deals primarily with the community of Mundare, and therefore, it operates with the notion of *community* in a narrow sense. In this narrow sense, *community* points to a *localized* social group characterized by person-to-person interaction, its link to a particular space and by its relatively prolonged period of existence. As Phillip Cooke observes, the traditional community's continuity owes much to the group's residing within the same locale for a prolonged period of time. This quality of stability he calls the community's "*residual* nature." Along with the community's residual nature, Cooke points out, "went a passive acceptance of stability, an unconscious strength derived from the unquestioned continuation of what was being socially reproduced" (Cooke 1990: 5). Thus, the village of Hrytsevolia in Ukraine, for example, can be aptly characterized as a community of a residual nature. Despite increased social mobility, Hrytsevolians continue to rely on a traditional understanding of the community as stable and enduring. This understanding is supported by factors such as generation after generation still living in the same village, networks of kinship being deeply intertwined, the elders' explicit preference that youngsters marry within the community, and the practice of younger members of the family inheriting property and land rights. For most members of Hrytsevolia in their dealings with each other and with the world, these factors override the impact of increased mobility. Cooke's description of a community's "residual nature" applies well to Hrytsevolia, as this is clearly a community whose social group is defined in terms of its belonging to a territory.

This traditional vision of a localized community cannot, however, fully account for the nature of those social groups such as Mundare that have been more significantly affected by the changes of late modernity. With millions of people on the move, new communities rapidly evolving, and established communities dramatically changing, it becomes obvious that even in a narrow sense community cannot be understood exclusively in terms of stability, continuing social structures and institutions, and territorial rootedness.

Consequently in the social sciences, conceptualizations of society and community have had to be modified to accommodate the rapid sociocultural changes of late modernity.

Two main modifications in defining community began to appear since the mid-twentieth century. The first main modification reconsidered community in terms of its being a social construction shaped by human agency rather than viewed as a conglomerate of objectified social structures (Azarya 1989). In times of late modernity, communities more often operate in plural contexts, against other cultures which may share the same locality. Thus, communities may be evolving against others' understandings of what respective communities are all about. Within this context of plurality, a community perceives a need to assert itself in whatever terms are available to their members in the face of opposing ideas (Anderson 1983). This perspective, treating community as a social construct and the result of human agency, helps to understand much of local Ukrainian discourse and activism characteristic of local towns in the Ukrainian bloc, like Mundare.

The second major modification in the definition of community was made in response to the growing *deterritorialization* of social processes of community construction. Many scholars deal with this aspect of contemporary social processes in various contexts (Appadurai 1991, Giddens 1991, Harvey 1989, Smith 1992). This latter modification has prompted me to adopt Appadurai's distinction between community as such, which becomes defined primarily socially, and a *locality,* which emphasizes the spatial (Appadurai 1996). With communities evolving in times of late modernity without much attachment to particular territories, *community* and *locality* began to be conceptualized as two planes of one social phenomenon (Appadurai 1996).

Let me elaborate how *locality* is employed in this study. Locality is seen here as a particular dimension of a social phenomenon of human collectivity. On the one hand, the *locality* metaphor represents in this study the world of familiar things, the lived-in world of what Alfred Schutz calls the directly experienced reality of "one's fellow men" and "one's contemporaries" (Schutz 1967 [1932], 1989). It is always a personally experienced world – immediate and spatial – that locates one in the midst of certain circles and flows of things, people, ideas, feelings that become familiar and mundane; and therefore also often unnoticeable and unquestioned.

The notion of locality is intended to suggest and focus attention upon the otherwise taken-for-granted *immediacy* of the environment. Emphasis is placed upon the spatial rather than temporal dimension of the group. Space is understood as a necessary dimension for local culture to unfold. And, like a community, locality is a social construct, the outcome of human agency and human thought.

On the other hand, locality is about *plurality*. While as a metaphor *community* refers to the unity of a group, its stability and continuity, the *locality* metaphor implies that the space of the locality is open to many competing cultural flows and powers. Consequently, more than one community may unfold within a locality, with varying degrees of coexistence styles, from complementarity to conflict.

Both *locality* and *community* are used here as discursive or even strategic tools. They are analytic concepts introduced for the sake of illuminating the issues the ethnographic work raises. For example, a crucial issue that is raised in this study involves how to understand local-global relations and interactions. The use of the term "locality" allows consideration

of these relations in contrasting terms of "non-local," trans-local, national, transnational, global, and so on. Turning the tables, however, the term "locality" raises its own problems. Not the least is the dilemma between outside and inside, as evident in the first-person pronouns "I" and "we" as the outsiders that designate the "locals" of the "locality" in the third-person "they" and "them," even as "we" attempt to understand their locality "from within."

To summarize, the notion of community as used here refers to a social phenomenon of human collectivity which unfolds in time and space, continues and changes, and is a process itself. Community refers to shared interests and pursuits, to a sense of belonging to a group exercised by its members, and to the group's generational and/or genealogical continuity. Community is not commensurate with the locality; the locality may be occupied by more than one community, and community can conversely occupy more than one locality. Locality, on the other hand, is seen here as a local lifeworld, a spatial dimension of the community constructed by the agency of those who occupy it as well as shaped by outside forces.

I also make use of this distinction between community and locality, for it allows an account of Mundare people's understandings of what their community is. As will be shown below, Ukrainian members of the Mundare community in their public accounts of Mundare make genealogical claims to Mundare locality. Thus, they themselves distinguish, perhaps not so consciously, between what I am designating as community and locality.

The distinction between locality and community is also important in accounting for differences in the historical phases of the development of the Mundare community. The Mundare community has undergone a number of different stages throughout its history. Local communities born on the Western Canadian frontier all started with individual settlers and their families domesticating space, rooting themselves in a new locale, and making it into a home for themselves. Settlers in the future Mundare area, mostly coming from the same Galician counties of western Ukraine, often took farming lots next to each other and marked the environs as "theirs." Others came to see these as a distinct area populated by "Galicians." This made even representatives of the English-speaking "mainstream" find themselves potentially marginal to the emerging community. Those who wished to succeed in such environs needed to learn how to do so with Ukrainians and in their language.[10]

Kinship as a social institution informed the setting of this territory in a number of ways. At first it did so literally, supplying new migrants to the settlements from the kinship networks, and second, symbolically, when with migrants arrived with their own understandings of community. Mundare and other rural Ukrainian settlements in the prairies rely for the origin of their communities on the "old country's" understandings of community brought over with the first immigrants. Immigrants arrived with their own experiences of a community of a residual nature, a community of continuing networks of kinship and neighbourhoods. The very creation of the Mundare community depended on

---

[10] Many local narratives refer for example to Mundare's own first Member of Parliament, Mr. J.S.McCallum, a Scot who learned and spoke Ukrainian, (see Bahry 1980: 18).

these understandings and practices. Early settlers preferred to settle down next to relatives or *zemliaky*, fellow-villagers. Aside from the Hrytsevolians, many Ukrainian settlers in the Mundare area were men and women from the village of Bila, Chortkiw county, the town of Brody, and from Radekhiv county, all in Galicia. During Mundare's formative years (1891-1920s),[11] the establishment of the community and its strong local identity benefited from social bonds of kinship and those of *zemliatstvo*. These bonds, and the means of honouring and maintaining them, were imported from the old country. If one looks at old maps of Lamont county, or flips through the family histories in the local history book, one realizes that many of the original farmers who settled next to each other in the area were from the same communities in the old country. These *zemliatstvo* and kinship links have remained an underlying principle of Mundare community organization over the years.

There is a difference, however, in how networks of kinship and *zemliatstvo* contributed to the sense of Mundare community in various periods. In the early years of community development these ties were directly responsible for the population profile and the geography of land ownership, similar to the rest of Ukrainian bloc (Lehr 1975, 1985). The same ties were equally responsible for the social structures and social institutions of Mundare. Today however, kinship no longer defines the population profile and community networks. Many members of extended families have moved out of Mundare, out of the Ukrainian bloc, and even out of Alberta and Canada. Yet, today's community continuity is still affected by kinship links, but in essentially *symbolic terms*. Community members themselves implicitly *cultivate* the idea that links of kinship hold their community in place. As I show in the next chapter, kinship became promoted by some locals as the fundamental organizing principle of their community and main claim to the locality. Thus, kinship continues to exercise its symbolic power over the community. This genealogical continuity was put forward as the most important principle of the community's unity later, in the 1970s, by lay historians.

As shall be discussed below, at the end of the twentieth century the Mundare community is yet again being reorganized due to, among other things, its constantly changing membership. Here the idea of locality returns to the fore, as it is implicitly given much priority in local discourses at the threshold of the twenty-first century. Throughout its history Mundare has undergone a series of different stages of its social organization, from being a mere territory, to becoming through settlement a locality, before growing into a strong community with a distinct local Ukrainian identity by the 1930s. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, however, the community and its identity have had to face challenges of a new order which put its continuity, vitality, and "Ukrainianness" in question. The remaining chapters of this study examine this contemporary development, while this chapter supplies the historical background to the current situation. Taken together, the issue confronting Mundare in its near future is if it will be able to continue as a Ukrainian-Canadian community it has imagined itself to be since the 1930s, or whether it is already gradually moving into a next stage wherein the "locality" metaphor will best describe its emerging plurality, discontinuity, and diversity.

---

[11] Martynowych, in an excellent monography, deals with this period of history of Ukrainian Canadians (1991).

1.2. Geography and social space

Highways serve as symbolic meridians of Mundare's locality, making *distance* one of its defining aspects. For an outsider, it is not possible to experience Mundare's locality without driving during which the distance between Mundare and other inhabited spaces is experienced. The town itself is located on the intersection of three major roads (one is a national highway, two others are provincial). The main highway connects Mundare with the provincial capital of Edmonton (800, 000 people): "50 minutes and you are in the city." The neighbouring town of Vegreville, with about 5000 inhabitants, is 25 km east of Mundare. It is the largest town in the Ukrainian bloc and, as one Mundare author would have it, "the Ukrainian capital of North America" (Bahry 1980: 11). Other communities nearby are within easy reach provided one has a vehicle).[12]

Figure 1. Mundare Main Street. 1998.

Those who have never been to the prairies of the Canadian west can easily perceive the geography of Mundare's environs as "exotic". The endless rolling fields, extended highways with sparse traffic, enormous stretches of farmers' fields cut through with the occasional wire fences that separate properties, the rare home or barn on the horizon, and wildlife occasionally crossing the highways, comprise a setting that is unexceptional only to those who take it for granted. Abandoned structures, scattered about the fields, deteriorating or half-destroyed, are reminders of bygone years. Compressed by the weight of the Alberta sky, they slowly enter and leave your vision while you are driving. All this easily contributes to the sense of being in a distinctive world, i.e, on the Canadian prairies.

Mundare proper, "a small town with a big heart," as its logo says, is a part of this countryside. If you drive through the town you will leave it less than two minutes after entering its territory: it is a small settlement of about 570 people. The landscape is distinctively Western or the North American: two grain elevators have been the trademarks of the town.[13] The railway nowadays is used for commercial traffic only. In the town, there is the hotel facing the railway, one of the oldest structures, dilapidated, but surviving as a local tavern. The main street, extending away from the railway, is lined by a number of old buildings that have so far survived, but I suspect they will not see

---

[12] The Senior Citizens' Club, for example, owns their own transportation, and when organizing trips their van is used to transport seniors to various destinations.

[13] One of two remaining grain elevators was demolished in 2000. The community is in the midst of attempts to save the last remaining elevator in town from a similar destruction. The two grain elevators are represented on the town logo.

better days. The old hospital building in red brick, the old white wooden Roman Catholic Church locally known as Polish Church, some old houses abandoned by their inhabitants, leaning to one side; these structures give poignant expression to the past in the context of the town's present and add a particular flavor to my stroll through the town. History fills the air.

The sights from the past appear to peacefully coexist amongst those that are unambiguously modern: the curling arena, ESSO station, town office, the modern buildings of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church and of the Basilian Fathers Ukrainian Museum (both built in the late 1980s), two dozen new houses for sale, the school, the senior citizen's lodge, and the Mundare Meat Processing plant, to name just the main landmarks.

Social space

Apart from geography, the Mundare locality has also been defined by social processes and human agency that have unfolded in this locality. There are other distances that are far more constitutive of the Mundare locality than the highway distances separating it from neighbouring towns. These are the distances between farms, and between the farms and the town itself, distances that decisively extend the Mundare locality beyond the town's territorial limits. On the map, Mundare the town is symbolized by a tiny dot on the Alberta map. But the locality of Mundare *community*, as it is understood in this study, is not constituted by the town limits. This locality has been shaped by at least three factors, local economy, outside cultural, economic and historical processes, but above all, by people's connections, interests, and networks. As Alfred Bahry, a local contributor to *Memories*, put it in 1980: "it is not buildings or businesses or railways that give life to a location, it is the people themselves who must grant it vitality, morality, and perseverance" (Bahry 1980: 9).

And there are other understandings of Mundare locality produced by the local people. Mundare locality is also seen and publicly promoted as a *Ukrainian* social space. Since 1997 the local museum operated by the Basilian Fathers, or the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM), a monastic order within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, not only tells the story of this locality in Ukrainian terms but also demarcates its boundaries by expanding it to include the oldest Ukrainian farming families in the area. For example, when the oldest families were selected to represent the locality the result was, they were local Ukrainian families living in Mundare environs within the Ukrainian bloc.[14]

The locality is defined by its Ukrainian members to promote their own understanding of who and what constitutes the local world of Mundare and how far it stretches today. This "Ukrainian" geography is reproduced not only in public discourse, but in personal accounts as well. Local family history books often include similar maps of the Mundare area which "stretch" the Mundare locality to incorporate remote "Ukrainian" farms into

[14] In the museum their stories are accompanied by the map that pins these families to various corners of the Ukrainian Bloc: it is the map of their original homestead locations. The permanent museum exhibition "New Home in the West" was opened in the Basilian Fathers Museum in October 1997.

it.[15] At the same time, this vision may not be shared by everyone living in Mundare, for not all members of Mundare community are associated with the Ukrainian Catholic parish run by the Basilian Fathers, the largest parish in the community.

Population profile

To describe the community in terms of its population profile and generations, one would need to emphasize the relatively old age of its population. When it comes to Mundare proper, in 1993 the share of retired people in its population profile was 36 per cent of 578 people (*Alberta Municipal Affairs, Population List Towns 14 February 1994*, 1994: 82). Although the convenient geographic location and reasonably well-developed amenities in the town help attract new people in their search for a place to live, those who move into town for good are often retired people after selling their farms in the area. The town houses a few institutions for the elderly; the Father Filas Senior Citizen Home, or as Mundarites call it, the lodge; a convent for elderly Sisters. The Mundare Senior Citizens Club, consisting of about 120-130 members, is an active organization that keeps Mundare seniors engaged in a variety of activities (Lloyd Sereda 12.04.98).

As for the town's working population (in 1996, 251 persons between 20 and 64 years old, or 43% of the total population (Canada census 1996), various businesses in the town keep active townspeople and those on the farms employed. For some this is only a bedroom community as they commute for work to Edmonton, Vegreville, Andrew, and other communities nearby. The best-known Mundare establishment outside of the community is the meat processing plant that produces a variety of meat products. Owned by the Stawnichy family, this business is well-known for its "Mundare sausage, the best Ukrainian *koubassa* in the province and in the country," as described in their promotional pamphlet.

Mundare's young generation composes 23% of the total population (In 1996, 135 citizens were 0-19 years old. *Canada Census* 1996, see appendix 1). The relationship of children to the locality is conceived in different terms than the relationship of seniors to Mundare. There is one elementary school at the moment in Mundare. In 1997 the Mundare junior and junior high school was closed by the provincial authorities. Students were transferred to Vegreville. In addition to the public school, in September 1997 the first private charter school in rural Alberta was opened in Mundare. The charter school ceased its existence in a year though it revealed mixed attitudes towards public education in the community. Youngsters do not have a club of their own that would unite them all under one umbrella. As one young Ukrainian dancer confessed, teenagers seek entertainment elsewhere. In her case, she joined the *Sopilka* dancers from Vegreville, which allowed her to expand her network of friends and to travel with the group, even as far as to the United States.[16]

---

[15] Maps were either directly copied or modelled after the township maps of Lamont county.

[16] From a casual exchange with a local teenager who was invited to perform Ukrainian dances during the Seniors' Night, November 98.

Ethnic composition

The current story of the Mundare community could also be told in terms of its ethnic composition. As for the town itself, it started first as a village in 1906. The area surrounding the town was populated mostly by rural immigrants from the Ukrainian counties of Galicia. The proportion of its Ukrainian population has been in steady decline for the last half-century. Despite this decline, statistics indicates that Ukrainians are still the majority in Mundare and Ukrainian bloc in general, characterized by the highest concentration of Ukrainian population in Alberta (Hobart et al. 1967(?): 119-125). The Canadian census of 1996 offers the following picture of Mundare's ethnic composition. Ukrainian is listed 280 times; English — 100, Polish — 70, French — 60, Irish — 55, Scottish — 55, German — 50, Canadian — 45, Aboriginal — 35, Chinese — 25, North American Indian — 25, Metis — 10, Danish —10, Norwegian —10, Welsh —10, Swiss — 10 (See Appendix 2). Interesting to note, 193 people (36 per cent of total Mundare population) gave multiple ethnic responses. The town's council Alex Bendera is fully aware of Mundare's ethnic versatility referring me to "the conditions of melting pot": "Chinese run restaurant. Koreans run business, too. Pizza place is run by Lebanese. We have people from Maritimes. It is melting pot, you know" (Alex Bendera 01.14.98).

Mundare: local perspectives

Mundare is perceived by many outsiders as a Ukrainian community. Defining Ukrainianness within the community is however more complex. Often I heard people correcting themselves as if trying to clarify for me what they meant when they say "we Ukrainians." At some point there are clear distinctions made between Ukrainians and Poles: "And here is Polish church over there, Poles go there. We have our own, Ukrainian church" a girl explained while giving a tour around the town.[17] In other instances, as a president of the Seniors Club put it, "by Ukrainians we understand all Slavic people in the community." Although the all-embracing term Slavic suggested many other peoples, Mr. Sereda referred to Ukrainians and Poles only, for they are historically the major ethnic groups of the town, represented by Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches (Lloyd Sereda 12.04.98).

Despite the fact that the town is still seen by many as a Ukrainian town, the current Mundare community is also a typical Western Canadian rural community on the prairies on the threshold of the twenty-first century with diverse backgrounds and ethnic roots. And, like in any other small town in rural Alberta, public life here was conditioned not only by local but also by provincial, national and global developments. Consider the ordinary Mundare Ukrainian couple, "Mr. S." and "Mrs. S." In their sixties, Mr. and Mrs. S. have been part of this cultural landscape since birth. As kids they attended Mundare school, socialized with the rest of Mundare youth. They were married in the local church. As adults they lived on a farm not too far away, regularly commuting into town for their

---

[17] Our ride took place early in my research in October 1997. I assume that the fact that I was an outsider to Mundare and a Ukrainian from Ukraine contributed to the choices made by my young acquaintance that day regarding how to present local Ukrainianness.

spiritual, social, cultural and shopping needs. They raised three children (all of which have now left the vicinity) and eventually moved into the town to enjoy their retirement.

Mrs. S. is a member of a few local organizations, the Seniors' Club, the hospital auxiliary, the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL). She is very active with each of them. Mr. S. is also busy in the same way: the Seniors Club, the Drop-in Centre, and the church on Sundays. They walk to their local bakery and to the drug-mart for groceries. For gas, they go to the local gas station. When visiting their family in Edmonton or in Vegreville they do other shopping as well. For entertainment they watch TV and regularly attend all the socials organized by their respective organizations. On Sundays they attend the church service either in Ukrainian at 9 a.m., or in English, at 11 a.m. The husband prefers the English service, while the wife likes the Ukrainian one. On weekdays they do the housework and attend to their responsibilities within their organizations. Mrs. S is quite often engaged in cooking for the organizations and the community.

What is the town of Mundare to them? Mundare locality is the place they have been living for years. While they were on the farm they came to the town every Sunday to the church. As children, they attended Mundare school, and later they sent their children to the same school, though housed in a newer building. The moment they moved into town was not a moment of dislocation, for Mundare was and remains the place were their local networks and community connections unfold. They retain their sense of rootedness in life and in this locality. Located in the midst of the parklands of Canadian prairie Mundare is not an exotic terrain but a lived space; their "local lifeworld." Mundare Ukrainianness for them is a part of their everyday routine life. This is true for many other members of this community, too.

I will describe a different perspective, that of a young Mundare girl, once a student of mine at the university. For her, Mundare *was* a home town and Mundare Ukrainianness was a home identity.[18] While in the beginning Ukrainian language class, Shauna presented herself with some bravado and a clear sense of pride: "I am from a very Ukrainian town, we have the best Ukrainian food there." For the class presentation about herself, she brought pictures of her dancing in the Vegreville-based Ukrainian dance group (this was the most common choice of topic, since dancing was the most popular activity for most students in my class). For a cultural project she chose the topic of Ukrainian food and brought into class a tray with "Mundare *pyrizhky* (turnovers), very Ukrainian." She described them as "baked turnovers soaked in a creamy dill sauce." Yet, when out of class, nothing distinguished her from her other Canadian counterparts. Her Mundare Ukrainianness was her home identity, made available needed when required in class; perhaps because it was perceived that it could help to do better in the course, or simply because it seemed appropriate in that context. Mundare for her was the home town of her youth before she started her new life in the city. In the outside world, Mundare Ukrainianness helped her to locate herself. Although Mr. S., Mrs. S., and Shauna do not live in a time when the language of Mundare is Ukrainian, Mundare today is still a Ukrainian community insofar as it carries a strong Ukrainian identity.

---

[18] I taught Beginning Ukrainian at the University of Alberta from 1993 to 1996. Almost all students enrolled in the three sections of Beginning Ukrainian classes were of Ukrainian background. Quite a few were from various Ukrainian communities"in the bloc."

In the following discussion of Mundare's history I present various interpretations of Mundare's history. I pay attention to those historic events and happenings that are seen by the members of Mundare as contributing to the Mundare *community*, its Ukrainian identity, as well as recent interpretations. I return to these interpretations in the next chapter to examine their narratives and imagery in greater detail.

1.3. Mundare: from locality to community

> The town of Mundare was incorporated 4 January 1951 and is centred in an unusually fertile farming area. Most of Mundare pioneers came from Halchyna [sic] ... In 1903, the spelling was Mundaire. The *Encyclopedia Canadiana* of 1963 states the community was named after a French missionary Father Mundaire. However, according to the *Memories of Mundare*, the local history of the settlement of this area, and Post Offices of Alberta, the settlement was named after William Mundare, one of the earliest station agents of the area in 1906. Many people in this area say that Mundare is a corruption of the Ukrainian word for monastery. (Harrison 1991: 175)

This 1991 brief discussion on various interpretations of the name of Mundare alludes to the multiplicity of claims made by different powers over this locale throughout the twentieth century. Misspelling "Halychyna," the Ukrainian word for Galicia, the place of origin of most early Mundare area settlers, points to the symbolic distance between the local world of Mundare and the "outside" world which produced *Place Names of Alberta* (Harrison 1991). All interpretations of the origin of the name "Mundare," one asserting the power of the French (missionaries), the other the power of the British (economic development), and another of Ukrainian dominance, contradict each other. The claim that the name of this locality originates in its Ukrainianness has little plausibility. It is hardly possible that Ukrainians, while still arriving to Mundare area from Ukraine, would already corrupt *monastyr* for Mundaire within one year of the monks' arrival. Yet, the question of the validity of these interpretations is of no concern here. What is important that in today's Mundare community, the latter interpretation of the town's name origin is very common.

The town of Mundare started as a hamlet on the prairies in the early 1900s. From the very beginning the location and its vicinities became contested by various political and ideological forces which exercised their power. At that time the Canadian government was eagerly filling the "empty" prairies with farming "aliens" who were to become full-fledged and loyal subjects of the British crown in exchange for a few acres of land. Those who were preferable, i.e. of white race, were identified by Sir Clifford Sifton, then the Minister of the Interior in the Laurier government, and sought in various corners of the USA and Europe (Hobart et al. 1967(?): 54-58). Many came from the peripheries of Austro-Hungary where the peasantry was economically suffering from shortage of land (Himka 1988a: 19, Himka 1988b: 143, Martynowych 1991: 5-11). These "aliens" were to clear the land and to "domesticate" Canada's west.[19] In the 1890s the first Ukrainian

[19] I deliberately put the verb "to domesticate" in brackets referring to the ethnocentric position of Canadian government at that moment who did not perceive local native tribes as legal owners of the land.

immigrants: Bukovinians, Galicians, and Ruthenians started arriving from what was then Austro-Hungary. By the end of 1914 some 170,000 would arrive and these would later be called by historians the first immigration wave of *Ukrainians* to Canada (Swyripa 1991: 12). Among those who came to Alberta and specifically to the Mundare area were Galician Catholics numbering 12,912 males and 10,793 females by 1931 (Hobart et al. 1967(?): 54-58). They became visible among other settlers, gaining a reputation among the Anglo-Celt settlers of being "garlic-smelling, dirty stalwart peasants," yet Sifton found them to be good enough to work hard on the land for the better future of Canada (Swyripa 1991: 12). They were also of strong faith. Catholic priest-missionaries followed their faithful over a decade after the arrival of the first group of Galician Greek Catholics to Canada. This first group of priests rooted themselves in the Mundare area. This clergy would have their other agenda in the Ukrainian bloc: to protect their faithful from the proselytizing activities of Protestants, Russian Orthodox, and Roman Catholics and any others who were active on the Western frontier at that time (Olender 1988:221-223, Hobart et al. 1967(?): 167).[20]

It is in response to these global contexts that Mundare emerged first as locality and then, throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, developed into community. On the one hand, Mundare would not have become a town if it were not a "CN railway town," or the "urban point" of what originally was Canadian Northern Railways.[21] Many such settlements sprung up in 1905-1906 in East Central Alberta.[22] In fact it is precisely due to the railway construction that the territory north of Beaver Lake was determined to be the site for a future town. One of the earliest entrepreneurs in the Beaver Lake area, Mr. J. D. McAllister, a well-to-do farmer and businessman of Scottish origin, was astute enough to move close to the railway siding intended for the town. There he built a general store, livery barn, and lumber yard (Bahry 1980: 11). This was the beginning of a new community on the new site.

The CN railways, which had its Lloydminster-Edmonton section built in 1905-1906, constituted the southern boundary of the Ukrainian bloc in East Central Alberta. Urban points included Bruderheim, Chipman, Hilliard, Innisfree, Lamont, Lavoy, Mundare, Ranfurly, Royal Park and Vegreville (Krotki 1980: 275). With the construction of the railway, the small village of Mundare was put on the map of Canadian West:

> Regular passenger service was established through Mundare shortly after the Canadian Northern reached Edmonton and for years, regular scheduled passengers, complete with sleepers and diners, operated through the town. Usually, the arrival and departure times were not too convenient, but the service was well patronized especially before good blacktop highways were constructed nearby (B. Moore 1980: 7)

The railway construction set in motion the economic development of the urban point Mundare and businesses flourished. It was not until the early 1970s that the railway, having lost the privilege of being the major means of communication, removed its agent

---

[20] On Basilian perspective see *Propamiatna knyha otsiv Vasyliian u Kanadi; 50 lit na sluzhbi Bohovi i narodovi* (1902-1952). Toronto, Basilian Fathers Press. 1953.

[21] In 1918, Canadian Northern Railways became Canadian National Railways, the CNR.

[22] For information on the settlements along the Canadian National Railways, see Swyripa, 1976: 1034.

and closed down its passenger, express and telegraph business. It was unable to compete with other technologically advanced means of transportation and information exchange.

Despite the fact that Mundare would not have grown as it did if it were not for the development and the construction of the CN railways, in the community, the beginning of the locality is strongly associated with the establishment of the Basilian Monastery by the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the area.[23] The monastery's first quarters, though, were located not on the present territory of Mundare, but "on the farms," at Beaver Lake, "the north-west quarter of the section 10, of the range 16" (Svirs'kyi 1963: 6). When the Basilians moved into the village of Mundare several years later, the Basilian monastery became known as "Mundare monastery." Mundare and the area became more and more referred to as "Ukrainian territory." This revealed itself in the claim that its name comes from the Ukrainian *monastyr*, or as locals have it *manastyr*.

The Basilians and the Sisters

The arrival of the Basilians and Sisters Servants of Mary marked the progress the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church had made in her efforts to control the situation in Ukrainian settlements on the prairies where Galician Catholics were often exposed to the influence of other Christian denominations. It was because of Russian Orthodox missionary activity conducted among Ukrainian Catholic settlers in east central Alberta since 1897, that the first three Basilians and four sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate were sent to Alberta from Ukraine (Martynowych 1991: 194). The first three fathers, who arrived in 1902, served everywhere Galicians lived, traveling from one cluster of settlers to another, and serving 12,500 Ukrainian Catholics in Alberta and another 1,200 in Saskatchewan around 1905 (*In Ttribute* 1977: 47). Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate followed the Basilians, and settled nearby upon their arrival to Beaver Lake on July 7th, 1903. The same year they opened a school which moved into the first Basilians' chapel, located three miles east of today's Mundare (*Memories* 1980: 34) and started an orphanage, a catechism class, and provided health care (Krotki 1980: 249). Eight years after the arrival of the Basilian brothers the church was built with the help of the growing number of community-minded Galician Greek Catholics. Sts. Peter and Paul Ukrainian church in Mundare, thus, linked the Basilian Order with the town, localizing and rooting this global religious institution in the Mundare locale.

In 1922 the Basilians began construction of the novitiate monastery in Mundare. In 1923 its construction was completed (*In tribute* 1977: 32). The construction of the first Basilian monastery in North America marked the successful expansion of the Basilians' Order and of Ukrainian Catholicism on this continent. While this achievement can be seen as both the next step in globalizing the Ukrainian cause and the expansion of the networks of this particular institution onto global scale, on the local grounds these processes were seen as community-building processes. Later on, in the seventies, they were also claimed to have originated in the growing distance between locally-shared Ukrainian concerns (that is, in

---

[23] A detailed account of the Basilian fathers' activities in Ukraine and Canada may be found in Martynowych (1991), in the chapter "The Catholic clergy" (182-213). About Basilians in North America see Voinar (1950), Kazymyra (1961), and *Propamiatna knyha oo. Vasyliian u Kanadi* (1953).

Mundare) and those of the remote homeland. The Basilians' narrative of their Mundare history describing the time of the monastery construction claimed that the twenties were the time of the realization that the connection between the "old country" and the new one had weakened:

> 30.V. 1922. There had been no new arrivals [of missionaries] from Ukraine since 1905. The Fathers realized that sooner or later they will [sic] have to begin their own novitiate for the training of young men for the priesthood to increase their number to work in the mission field in Canada. On this day they start to build a novitiate monastery in Mundare. ... Father Philip Ruh, OMI draws the plans for the monastery and supervises its construction. The people around Mundare volunteer their labour to construct the building. ... Father Porphyrius Bodnar and Fr. Epiphany Teodorowych arrive from Ukraine to help educate the new Basilian missionaries. (*In Tribute* 1977: 53)

These seemingly distinctive processes, of expansion of a global network and its appropriation by the local, constitute two vectors of what Robertson calls "the concrete structuration of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1990: 20). This fully applies to Mundare; and not surprisingly, for as I mentioned above, this locality unfolded within a multiplicity of historic processes, of the development of the Canadian western frontier, of Canada, and of Ukrainian-Canadian consciousness.

The year 1923, when the Basilian Fathers novitiate was opened, marked the beginning of a new period in the Basilian Order's life and in Mundare's involvement with the outside world in general. The Mundare monastery played a significant role in the expansion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in North America. Since the establishment of the Basilians' mission, the locale was chosen to serve as a head of the Canadian Province of the OSBM. Over time, the Canadian province of The Order of the St. Basil the Great of North America grew into a large religious institution with a number of monasteries and residences throughout the country.[24] The detailed outline of the monastery activities listed in Memorial Book of the Basilian Fathers includes references to yearly visits of Ukrainian Catholic dignitaria from Ukraine, Europe, and the USA (*Propamiatna knyha* 1953: 209-215). At the same time, the work of the Basilian monastic community in Mundare has been given more and more local flavour. Starting from 1932, the Basilian Fathers novitiate has been preparing new graduates born and raised in Canada (*Propamiatna knyha* 1953: 204). Starting from 1933, judging from the same outline concerning the years 1933-1953, there was significant slowdown in transnational traffic between Mundare Basilians and Ukraine (1953: 215-223)

Today, if asked when Mundare history begins, or what are the town's beginnings, most often Mundarites would connect "the Fathers" to the establishment of their town and the area: "when the Fathers' arrived from Ukraine, they built the monastery and the convent

---

[24] "Edmonton, Mundare, Dervent, Glendon, High Prairie, Radway, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Grimsby, Ottawa, Montreal (as of 1948). The Order had at that time "47 priests, 31 scholastics and 30 lay brothers, a total of 108 members" (*In Tribute* 1977: 58).

here, and all people, who were almost all Ukrainians in this area supported them and helped them to build the church."[25]

Becoming a Ukrainian community

According to local interpretations of Mundare history produced in the 1980-90s, by the 1930s, the beginning of the Great Depression, Mundare had already developed into a strong community with its own infrastructure, social and cultural institutions, and strong Ukrainian identity. Local family histories, produced in the form of chapter entries to the local history book *Memories*, or the form of a book, all refer to pre-depression times as times of great ordeals, family upward mobility, and the formation of most communal institutions (building local Ukrainian Catholic, Roman Catholic, Russo-Orthodox churches in the area, developing public facilities in town [schools and hospital], and constructing the Ukrainian national hall in Mundare proper).

The formation of community in the Mundare area by the 1930s was the result of several sociohistorical processes unfolding globally, nationally, and locally.

Firstly, Mundare's becoming a *Ukrainian* community took place in the context of historical developments in the world, and specifically in Europe. Back in Austro-Hungary, in the late 1890s and early 1900s Ruthenians, Bukovinians, and Galicians often did not see themselves as members of a larger national entity and "were people initially unknown to themselves" (Swyripa 1999: 1284). Villagers coming from what we know as Ukrainian provinces of Austro-Hungary commonly referred to themselves as Austrians when entering Canada (Hobart et al. 1967(?): 64).[26] During the first immigration wave and first two decades of the twentieth century the number of immigrants from the Ukrainian provinces of Austro-Hungary grew in east central Alberta, creating the potential for networking. The years 1900-1910s witnessed a Ukrainian discourse in Alberta and Canada to unite all Ukrainian-speaking groups into a people with one name. Given the numbers of Ukrainian immigrants from Austro-Hungary living then in Alberta who conversed in several dialects of the same language,[27] the emerging *Ukrainian* agenda gradually gained popularity among homesteaders in the Ukrainian bloc and beyond.

In the case of Mundare, the Galicians' rudimentary sense of being Ukrainians received an additional impetus from the work of Ukrainian Catholic clergy; from missionary work of The Order of St. Basil the Great. In the 1920s with the building of the monastery in town, Mundare became the local centre for many Greek Catholics scattered on the farms and

---

[25] From a conversation with seniors at the Senior Citizen party, January, 1998; also a similar response was given by Mundare councilor (Alex Bendera, 02.07.99).

[26] This was also due to the existing categories and official vocabulary with respect to incoming immigrants entering Canada. They were asked to identify themselves as "nationals" of then existing states.

[27] I am aware of political aspects of stating that all the dialects spoken by Galicians, Ruthenians, Bukovinians were part of one language. Here I follow the common perspective on these dialects being variations of a single Ukrainian language. The reader may be familiar with the late 20th century political movement of Ruthenians [Rusyns], living in Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, and Transcarpathia, who consider their language an independent language.

from neighbouring communities. The "manastyr" attracted people from far away and even "from the city" when special festivities were held by the Basilians and their parish.[28]

Secondly, Mundare's Ukrainianness emerged within the context of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The first three decades of the twentieth century are now seen by academics as formative years for the Ukrainian-Canadian community in Canada (Martynowych 1991). Ukrainian debates in Canada of the 1900-1910s not only reached Mundare but were often unfolding in this locality when various Ukrainian-Canadian conventions were held in the town. The agenda of these meetings always included issues of extra-local importance.[29] In the inter-war period Mundare was actively represented in regional, provincial and national politics. Such participation in the Ukrainian-Canadian discourse would become later part of the collective memory of Mundare community. In the 1980s one of the authors of a local history book recollecting early attempts of individual politicians to make a political career refers to them as the collective effort of the entire town:

> Politics were and are, a matter of great and abiding interest to the people of Mundare. Although it has always lived somewhat in the shadow of its larger, perhaps more aggressive neighbour, Vegreville, which always managed to attract, coerce or entice more favors from the senior governments, it has also made its mark on the history pages of early Alberta in a political sense. (Bahry 1980: 25-26)

Thirdly, Mundare emerged as a strong Ukrainian community out of *local* developments and social processes. Local processes of inter-cultural interaction and experiences of ethnic boundaries contributed to the development of local Ukrainianness. With the immigrants came to Canada their customs, traditions, beliefs, worldviews, folklore, imagination, taste for material and spiritual culture, work ethics and practices. They were met by others with curiosity, at times followed by misunderstanding, misinterpretation, or even hostility.

Prejudice was exhibited by other settlers with respect to the Ukrainian immigrants who settled in the area. Community sources prefer not to recollect the derogatory *bohunk* side of the Ukrainian-Canadian history.[30] It took a feminist and a social historian to unearth this forbidden topic from beneath the Ukrainian-Canadian "success story" (Kostash 1977). References coming from non-Ukrainian historians are also available:

> Within a few years upon their arrival to Canada, Ukrainians were occupying a solid bloc of some two thousands square miles of Alberta territory. Then they ran into the intolerance of the Canadian West - not official intolerance, but the far more galling intolerance of their neighbours. Instead of the embrace of welcoming arms they met

---

[28] One has also remember, that in Mundare area there were Ukrainian homesteaders organized around Russo-Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches that sprung in first two decades of the twentieth century. Andrii Makuch discusses the active work of pro-socialist anti-clerical organizations in the Ukrainian bloc in his "*Narodni Domy* in East Central Alberta.." (1988: 203).

[29] For example, at the Catholic convention held in Mundare in 1919, the delegates discussed how to finance the Taras Shevchenko Institute in Edmonton (Marunchak 1970 : 158). More information on the events that took place in the town and in the area can be found in the newspaper *Vegreville Observer.*

[30] *Bohunk* was a common derogative reference to farming Ukrainians in the interwar period.

> rebuff, and being thrown inward upon themselves drew a cordon around their colony. (MacGregor 1969: 219)

The "cordon" around the colony to which the writer refers here is of course of a symbolic nature, attesting to the perceived cultural boundaries between *them* and *us* by non-Ukrainians. Ukrainians themselves were responsible for erecting such a "cordon" around their group in this locality. This vision has been magnified through writings of the mainstream, to the degree that the Ukrainian bloc was perceived by many as *terra incognita* where strange things might happen if one was careless. In addition, in the stories that have become local folklore among Anglo-Celt settlers, one can easily see the reversed character of such categories as mainstream and minority, power and powerless:

> Even though the Ukrainians had organized many schools, only a minimum of communication took place between them and people outside the colony. This most unfortunate, although perhaps natural, situation led the Ukrainians and the non-Slavic Canadians to regard each other with a growing misunderstanding and dislike. One good example of this came to light in August 1912 in the area south of Mundare when Henry Deby's nine-year old boy went on and errand to one of the Ukrainian farms. He left home at noon with a horse and cart and should have returned for supper but failed to show up. Later Deby went looking for him and by daylight next morning his non-Slavic neighbours were conducting an all-out search for the boy.
> Before the hunt was over everyone concerned was convinced that the "Ruthenians" had killed him and made off with his horse and cart. At 7:30 the next morning, however, his father found him curled up under the tree and fast asleep, while the horse grazed nearby. He had merely taken the wrong fork in the trail and when dark came on knew he was lost.
> A few years earlier, a story which may well have been true circulated widely. Somehow an English-speaking prospective homesteader walked off his course and before he realized it was well into the Ukrainian colony, where for all practical purposes he was lost. He was said to have wandered for nearly a week, asking for directions at every Ukrainian settler's shack. Since he knew no Ukrainian and none of the settlers spoke any English, they passed him from farmyard to farmyard. They received him kindly enough, fed him at meal times and gave him a dry place to sleep at night, and then, not comprehending what he wanted, showed him the way to the next neighbour. (MacGregor 1969: 217)

MacGregor points out the difference between Ukrainian settlers and their neighbours, bringing another dimension into the story of their early cultural perseverance in claiming that intolerance led to their self-realization as Ukrainians.

> Their very difference from the rest of Albertans and the aloofness or actual hostility of their neighbours ... [led] them back to a recollection of their old wounds and of their one-time national pride. These memories led to a resurrection of their long-held but unrealized, and therefore especially dear, dream of nationality. Consequently, they began to dream of resurrecting a new Ukraine in this land upon which they had bestowed names such as Halicz, Kolomea, and Kiew, Zaporose and Sich. Because a new Ukraine must insist upon the use of its native language, where better to start than in the school? (MacGregor 1969: 219)

MacGregor's straightforward reasoning that Galicians gained their sense of Ukrainianness through their negative contact with neighbours is rather simplistic. Also, the fact that Ukrainians named their schools and townships with the names of their towns and cities back in Western Ukraine and especially with names from parts of Ukraine outside of Galicia (Kyiv, Zaporose and Sich) speaks first of all not of "resurrecting, but of continuity of their national aspirations and their Ukrainian identity. Yet MacGregor's writing reminds one of Fredrick Barth's understanding of ethnicity as being interactional and emerging in the contact zone where various groups meet (Barth 1969: 20-21). In such references to negotiations of Ukrainianness emerges the evidence to its processual nature. Ukrainianness *becomes*, in a sense comes into being, through interaction between Ukrainians and their neighbours. It is processual for its very existence is due to this interaction.

From past to present

Given local interpretations of the past, by the 1930s Mundare was already a community with a distinct sense of its Ukrainianness. The economic progress of individual farms and businesses in the 1920s, the establishment of church parishes, and construction of major public facilities in the community (the first Catholic National hall in 1917,[31] and "Canada's first Ukrainian hospital"[32] in 1929) formed the infrastructure of the growing community.[33] These developments were paralleled by the increasing distance between local Ukrainianness and the "old country," the distance to which Basilian historians referred in their 1977 historic excursus *(In tribute* 1977: 32).

Reflecting upon Great Depression in the 1980, contributors to local history, *Memories,* chose to emphasize that the established lifeworld, with its Ukrainian social institutions and networks, was not severely affected by the Great Depression of the 1930s although economy in this locality significantly fell during this decade. In reality there might have been many cases of how family and neighbour links were negatively affected during the difficult times of the Depression. Yet, local history suggests that the sagging economy had the effect of strengthening the social institutions and networks. It appeared from these reflections on the past, that family, "old country" *zemliatstvo*, and neighbourhood ties were activated or reinforced as people tended to help each other through the depression. I look closer at these and other reflections in the next chapter.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s the established lifeworld continued to evolve in Mundare, informed by a variety of social processes unfolding globally, nationally, and locally. The 1940s once again reminded Mundarites of their being part of the larger history and larger cultural scape of the Ukrainian world wide. A significant instance of this occurred when young men from Mundare enlisted in the Canadian army to fight in the Second World War. Their deeds would be later remembered as a great part of the

---

[31] Catholic national halls, *narodni domy*, were rarely built in the bloc prior to the 1930s. (Makuch 1988: 204).

[32] As put by Sister Sylvia in her accounts about Mundare Hospital (1980 : 81).

[33] What made this sense of community distinct was the belief in its many "firsts." Mundare was the locale for the first Ukrainian monastery, first Ukrainian hospital, first Ukrainian settlers in Canada, and so on.

Ukrainian contribution to the Canadian nation. Mundare was involved in the community at large through celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. For example in 1941, the dance and music festival took place, and thousands of people visited Mundare and attended these celebrations.[34]

Like in earlier years, locally, the 1940s and 1950s witnessed a continuing growth in cultural activities in Mundare. Mundare housed several music bands which were known beyond the locality and consisted predominantly of Ukrainians. There was a drama circle working in town. With the arrival in 1952 of Ivan Semeniuk, a post World War II immigrant from Ukraine, and an educated musician and choir conductor, a choir was set up that has been active in the community for decades (*Memories* 1980: 71). "Weddings were large, not like today. We used to feed 500 or even a thousand people at once! Those were times, I remember, when in the summer and the fall we used to have weddings every week in the hall, can you imagine!" (Marsha Woloschuk 10.21.00). During these times, the Ukrainian language was crucial, if not dominant, in local communication.

The late 1950s and 1960s introduced to this locality new changes and experiences. Mundare, subjected like any other rural community in Alberta to the new leap in the economic development of the post-war world, witnessed many technological changes. Telephone lines and electricity reached many private farms and became more affordable. New homes were built with modern facilities; the outhouse and reliance on wells for water became a thing of the past. Television was spreading rapidly. The railway lost its importance as the link between Mundare and other communities, and auto vehicles reaching anywhere one wanted to go became the main means of transportation. Significantly, at this time the generation of first settlers who lived through harsh conditions of pioneer times and who laid the foundations of the Mundare community was dying out. The generation of their children were aging as well.

With these developments came a feeling of change, rupture, and loss, which would result in a stream of various projects of commemoration of the past and of the community's Ukrainianness in the 1970s. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the Mundare lifeworld, in which the community has to face challenges which puts its continuity, vitality and Ukrainianness in question as never before.[35] How various projects of commemoration and representation in the next chapters respond to these challenges and how community deals with the notion of a "time of rupture" I discuss in greater detail in the following chapters.

Into the future

Throughout its history, Mundare went through different stages of its social organization, from being a mere *territory*, to becoming a *community* with its own sense of local Ukrainian identity. Two factors contributed to its formation and development of its Ukrainian identity, that of (1) being a part of the Canadian frontier history, (2) being a

---

[34] Detailed discussion of this event may be found in Jason Golinowski (1999: 39-64).

[35] Mundare certainly witnessed Ukrainian commemorative events prior to the seventies. These events reflected local concern for preservation of its Ukrainian heritage in earlier years as well. Reference to those may be found in *Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta, Memories*, in Peter Svarich recollections (1999).

part of Ukrainian transnational history, and specifically being a part of the Ukrainian Catholic expansion in the new world.

As local commentary of the eighties and nineties suggests, by the 1930s Mundare had grown into a community with its own sense of Ukrainian identity. The first three decades of the twentieth century were indeed crucial in forming local Mundare culture. Orest Martynowych rightfully refers to this period as "the formative years" (1991). During this period, the town of Mundare first came physically into existence and then became a community of 497 citizens (as of 1921) of whom 340 were Ukrainians (Darcovich 1980: 108). The town and the neighbouring area witnessed emergence of its own infrastructure, organizations, politics, and cultural institutions. Mundare became a community with the *Ukrainian* identity, embedded in many Ukrainian networks of local, national and global order.[36]

With several generations of local families continuing to work in the town or to farm in the same area throughout the rest of the twentieth century, Mundare has also become a community characterized by its sense of *genealogical continuity*. Throughout the rest of the twentieth century the Mundare community continued to be a community of farmers who have been working on the lands their ancestors claimed at the turn of the twentieth century. This fact has also contributed to local understandings of the community as being rooted in a territory of its own. Local commentary produced since the seventies suggests that local Ukrainians understand that (a) their Ukrainianness is rooted in the local territory: "they [local Ukrainians] do not even know that the fiddle is played in Ukrainian villages, they think that it is their local invention" (Pivovarchuk, 01.14.98); and (b) that Mundare locality belongs, at least in symbolic terms, to local Ukrainians. While in the seventies, the Mundare *community* was seen by the locals as indistinguishable from the Mundare *locality*, the eighties and nineties challenged this vision.

In the late 1980s and in the 1990s, with growing social mobility in Canada and in Alberta,[37] with the emergence of new means of communication such as the Internet and the mobile telephone, with children continuously leaving the community and with "outsiders," non-Ukrainians, moving in, the Mundare locality once again became a contested terrain.[38] It became home to several individuals and families (altogether, ten persons) who have immigrated to Canada as a part of a new immigration wave from Ukraine in the 1990s (see appendix 3). Like local non-Ukrainians and other outsiders, recent immigrants from Ukraine also challenged the locality and its Ukrainianness, yet in their own way. I return to discuss these and other challenges in the third chapter.

While local Ukrainians continue to rely on their own established social and cultural institutions in their celebrations, there is nevertheless a growing sense of discontinuity

---

[36] *Mundare* Ukrainianness is not drastically different from the Ukrainianness of other "Ukrainian" prairie settlements within the Ukrainian bloc. The Mundare experience on the frontier and on the Canadian prairies was in many ways similar to the experiences of other settlements and towns. Still, the peculiarity of Mundare Ukrainianness and their sense of locality has grown out of a specificity of their *own* involvement with various global and national powers throughout their history.

[37] Alberta's economic boom in the 1980-90s attracted people to the province from all over Canada, and several families also moved to Mundare.

[38] I return to this issue in the last chapter of this study.

between the community and what used to be its own locality. The Mundare locality became open to a variety of incoming cultural flows from the outside. In response to these new experiences of the changing lifeworld, local Ukrainians re-energized their claims to their locality once again, as their forefathers had once done one hundred years ago by breaking the land for their future homes. This time the claims over the locality were staked in more symbolic terms, with the help of public projects of memorialization and commemoration of the local Ukrainian past.

Chapter Two. Mundare Ukrainianness: Representations

2.1. Why focus on representations?

I was sitting in a tiny room in an armchair just across from Mrs. Slepanki, listening to her story. A resident of Father Filas Senior Citizens Home in her early eighties, Mrs. Slepanki invited me into her unit for an interview about Mundare's past. She talked about her own family, and showed me family photo albums. We spent several evenings together discussing our lives and enjoying the flow of our communication. At one point, curious to find out Ukrainian connections in Mrs. Slepanki's life as well as her attitudes towards the "old country," I asked her about her parents and their origins. She made an effort to recollect the names of the respective villages in Western Ukraine which her grandparents left, destined for Mundare, circa 1900. While murmuring to herself "page two hundred something, page two hundred something," she got up from the couch, approached her bookshelves and pulled out a thick volume. I was caught by surprise: the page "two hundred something" in this volume contained a concise biography written by Mrs. Slepanki herself of her family and ancestors. The book was titled *Memories of Mundare*.

This discovery I made that day back in 1998 was not a discovery of the book's existence. I had read many local histories and had consulted *Memories* before starting my research in the area. The discovery I made was about a particular style of ethnography I found myself doing.

In the villages of Ukraine, to learn about local ways and traditions I had to *talk* to people, for there was little or no public documentation of this past. Local knowledge, folklore, and collective memories were still traditionally shared in these villages through personal contact and by means of oral communication. In contemporary Mundare, on the other hand, writing stories, making records, and maintaining museum displays had become a fundamental means of communicating such knowledge of the past.

The ethnography I was doing in Mundare differed from my fieldwork in rural Ukraine. This difference had to do with two distinct modes of reflexivity, one privileging orality, the other one writing, as primary modes of communication. The first kind of reflexivity is more characteristic of rural communities of Ukraine, while I found the latter to be commonplace in the Mundare community. For some time, Mundare citizens have been fully involved in modern ways of reflecting upon their past, ways that rely to a great extent on written narratives. New technologies such as printing, faxing, home computers, and the Internet support and promote this reliance. New technology also provides other modern means of producing public records, whether through photography, photocopy, audio, or video.

From a historical perspective, the invention of new means of communicating and preserving knowledge has been affecting modes of human thought as profoundly as the changes effected by the technology of writing. The invention of writing significantly

affected the organization of human thought and ways of reflecting upon nature, history, and society (Ong 1982, Goody 1992).[39] In times of late modernity, especially in the Western world, the mass availability of new technologies is responsible for further reorganization of people's ways of reflecting upon themselves and the world around them. Mundarites are certainly privileged over Ukraine's villagers in their access to modern technologies for reflecting upon and preserving their memories; producing family photo albums and computerized genealogies, local, community, and family histories, and museums.

This availability of these new sites for preserving the past in the everyday life of Mundarites has affected the ways they remember their personal and communal past. Mrs. Slepanki was not the only one who sought out the book and searched for information about her own background, but many other people also referred themselves to *Memories* or to the local museum while talking to me about their personal pasts, about their families' arriving to the area, or other such particulars. Often, they referred me there, asking, "did you see the book?" or, "did you go to the museum?"

To do an ethnography on local identity and culture in a community where local reflexivity privileges written communication over oral, and where many local projects on preserving the past have already been established, one cannot ignore these local projects or their influence in the community. They are not only past representations of local identities and local cultures, their very presence in the community continues to affect *current* understandings of local identity and culture.

To account for local Ukrainianness I therefore looked first at existing representations of locality and its Ukrainianness, in the form of the Mundare history book, *Memories of Mundare*, the Basilian Fathers Museum, and local family histories. I treat the book, the museum, and the family histories as special sites of ethnographic research where Ukrainianness of the locality and of its people is publicly stated. They are important sites to study, firstly because the townspeople refer to the book and museum contents when their personal and collective pasts are of concern. Secondly the Mundare community is immersed into the world of what Anthony Giddens (1991) calls modern reflexivity. Modern reflexivity, as a particular aspect of developed society, has to be taken into consideration in ethnographic research among people within such a society. The reflexivity of modernity relies to a great degree on the externalization of specialized knowledge and its later dispersion within the everyday domain. Over time it may become common knowledge, and as such its origin and validity is not generally questioned. Through this combination of authority and availability, it enters the discourses of non-professionals as a source for information, and a paradigm for knowledge. It also becomes a model for representation, as the public may set for themselves the task to produce their own knowledge and accounts of their own lives, and may adopt a similar format and narrative style.

---

[39] Goody distinguishes between oral and literate cultures, and has also looked at literate cultures in which orality continues to play a significant role. Goody also notes that both literate and oral traditions are necessarily partial in writing societies (1992: 13).

This knowledge concerns the group's past, and is also constitutive of its present. Anthropologists researching various cultures around the globe have reflected upon the uses of written sources by their informants when the former provide them with data about local ways of living (Lewis 1998). But it is particularly in the Western world that new means of maintaining groups' memories, culture, and as a result, identities, have become available not only to a elite but to lay people concerned with their own culture as well. Family documents organized in archives and family photo albums, personal memoirs written and published by elders for their children, family trees copied and distributed among all the extended kin, and collective histories written by whole communities have all become familiar enterprises of remembering the past for Canadians. This includes Ukrainian Canadians. These repositories of local knowledge about the past are important sites of reference, supplying individuals and communities with imagery and information about their community.

Yet, to simply reiterate all these new means of cultural maintenance is not sufficient to account for local identity, its negotiation and continuity. I argue that the creation and ongoing utilization of these memorials of the past in the everyday life of Mundare people point to the inner dynamic of cultural maintenance and identity negotiation particular to this locality. *Memories*, family histories, and museum displays are the surface presentation of deeper underlying mechanisms of cultural maintenance. In the case of Mundare, what are these inner dynamics of cultural maintenance, and what are their mechanisms? As will become clear over the course of these chapters, questions of these "inner dynamics" are as difficult to address as questions of identity, culture, or ethnicity. Nonetheless, acknowledging the relevance of modern reflexivity in Mundare as evident through the explicit claims of the locals themselves, these inner dynamics rely essentially on representation.

Each representation of Mundare displays a particular set of values, aspirations, attitudes, and imaginings of the world, the community, and the family, characteristic of those who authored it. Importantly, this display can also be ethnic in character, for *Memories* and the museum promote Ukrainian qualities of the community, while the genealogies outlined in the family histories lay claims to the locality through descent and kinship.

It could be argued that modern conditions of reflexivity emphasize narrative means of communicating collective histories and memories. Narrative forms of communication are used to spread particular claims, dispositions, values, etc. However, the argument has been made that similar narrative means were employed even in ancient times of orality (Olrik 1992[1921], Ong 1982). Narrative is not just the verbal text, but an ordered presentation of reality, in which the reality is given the format of the story with the beginning, the main body, and the end. All components of such story convey a certain moral or ideological stance. Narrative serves to communicate collective histories, memories, and destinies, forging group identities of those who believed and shared those histories. Anthony Smith points out that narratives are capable of accomplishing such identity projects because of the presence within those groups of "potent ethnic myths, memories, and symbols" (Smith 1984: 289). These myths — of origin, return, descent, to name a few of the central motifs — were as responsible for mobilizing ancient populations into "nationalisms" (Smith's word) as contemporary local narratives of

emigration, settling in the new country, and so on, are responsible for the creation, maintenance and assertion of ethnic identities in the new world.

Smith addresses the question of ethnic myths, memories and symbols while dealing with the larger issue of ethnicity and ethnic survival. In his work ethnicity is treated as "a named social group with alleged common ancestry and shared history, one or more elements of distinctive culture, a sense of territorial association and an active solidarity" (1984: 284). Ethnicity can persist through time if it relies on collective myths and symbols of origin, descent, a heroic age, and at times, on myths of migration, communal decline, and finally of rebirth (1984: 292).[40]

Smith considers already established myths though for some groups at certain points in their history such myths may not yet be developed. In this case the group's historical experiences undergird the formation of the mythology which is needed for the group to pursue its sense of territorial association, common ancestry, shared history, and solidarity. This is accomplished first through their ongoing narration (in which the accounts are in a continuous process of development and change), and then through their narrativization (in which the accounts come to be somewhat fixed and structured according to narrative principles).[41] Any myth of origin, descent, and community progress, be it ancient (such as myths of the origins of Rome or Kyiv), or modern (such as the myth of the October revolution as the beginning of the Soviet Union), is born through an initial narration and subsequent narrativization of historical events or experiences. This concerns both grand myths of ethnic origin and local myths of the community beginning.

Like in many other Canadian towns, local myths of origin, descent, and community prosperity have been created in Mundare. While these myths may be traced through all kinds of representations, they emerge most vividly in those sites that are structured in a narrative fashion, and this applies particularly to *Memories*, the museum, and family histories.

Consequently in this chapter I examine these representations of Mundare Ukrainianness from a narrative perspective. It is important to do so for several reasons. Firstly, all three representations of the past – *Memories*, museum displays, and family history books – are offered in the form of a narrative. Secondly, these sites of representation not only narrate various stories about the Mundare past and Ukrainianness, but in repeatedly narrating and re-narrating them they contribute to and constitute the ongoing mythologization of Ukrainian experience on the Canadian prairies. This continuing mythologization of Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity is a crucial mechanism for the cultural maintenance of local Ukrainianness. And thirdly, these sites presenting the history of Mundare in a narrative form are easily accessible for anyone who wishes to consult them. These representations, public products of modern reflexivity, have become authoritative

---

[40] These myths are not independent categories but often significantly overlap in practice.

[41] Hayden White discusses narrativization in his work on history writing (White 1987 26-57)

representations of the community's past and its Ukrainian identity, which are rarely questioned by individual members of the community.

(1) *Each of the three representations are organized as narratives.*

The text of *Memories,* the texts of most local family histories, and to a great degree the museum displays all sequence the past into a well-defined beginning, middle, and end. Such sequencing is the most characteristic aspect of discursive qualities of narrative. Secondly the texts usually do not focus on the identity of the narrator and therefore, like in a traditional historical narrative, the facts presented in the stories seem to speak for themselves (White 1987: 3). Being presented in a certain order in each narrative story, the events become connected to each other in an order that does not necessarily correspond to their causal history. Narrative offers its own order, inventing new connections and new meanings. There is also a central subject of the representations, the hero of the story, who in our case is most often "the people of Mundare." Each of these elements is presented in all three sites.

In *Memories*, the emerging grand story of Mundare and its Ukrainianness relies on *repetitiveness,* as the same motifs reappear in one individual story after another. The key events of the Ukrainian immigration to Western Canada at the turn of the last century are repeated in each individual story: the details of immigration, the pioneer hardships, and aspirations to become good Canadians.

The sequence of motifs: departing from the known world into the unknown; the journey; overcoming obstacles; and finally conquering no man's land and making it the lived world, echoes the underlying organizational principles and motifs of many traditional narratives, especially those of fairytales. Propp speaks of "the morphology of the fairytale" and maintained that despite the vast variety of plots, characters, and settings, the narrative of fairy tales progresses, albeit with some variations, along the same sequence (Propp 1968 [1928]: 23). All three sites of representations follow the same morphological principles in their narrative presentations of the Mundare past and its Ukrainianness. The outcome of these representations is that the local lifeworld is defined in terms of its *beginning in a certain time* and in terms of its *territorial* and *genealogical continuity.*

The representations also have another important property in common: they were created selectively. The selection of materials to be included in the texts and displays was subject to the rule of narration: they are made to produce one particular picture of history. Facts and their explications that did not contribute to this picture were excluded from this text. Neither the book, nor the family histories, nor the museum make reference to alcoholism in the area, to family abuse, to racial prejudices or to denominational disagreements, for example.

(2) Each of the three sites contributes to and constitutes an ongoing mythologization of Ukrainian experience on the Canadian prairies.

Canadian historian Joanne Styles maintains that the structure and content of all the stories included in Alberta local histories are organized in the same manner as myths represented in many societies (Styles 1990). Like other local histories books in Alberta, the *Memories* story of the beginnings of the community relates people's experiences of leaving the old country, arriving to Alberta, clearing the land, settling down, struggling with various hardships while building the farm and the country. Taken together, these all contribute to what many now recognize as the pioneer myth of building Western Canada. In the case of Mundare however, the identity of the community rooted in more than just the history of Canada's West. The mythologization of the past also contributes to the Ukrainian-Canadian myth of the beginning. The narratives of the Mundare history book, extended family histories, and the displays of Mundare museum, while contributing to the formation of the Canadian pioneer myth, at the same time contribute to the ongoing mythologization of both pioneer Ukrainianness on the prairies and Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity at large. Since this mythologization is an important principle of the community's continuity, I will deal with this question in some detail.

(3) *These public sites are easily accessible and are seen as authoritative representations of community.*

All three sites were constructed with the idea of making their texts and displays available to a public, be it a community or extended family. These public histories are important repositories of local knowledge in being the modern guardians of local collective memory and, I will argue, an important component of Mundare's cultural landscape. They serve as sites of reference not only to professional historians, but also to lay individuals interested in their own, ostensibly private, pasts.

Children from Mundare school are brought to the museum to experience the early days of the pioneer life. They learn about pioneer life via the Ukrainian experiences of it. Family history books are displayed in the museum. Copies of these family histories are in the possession of those households which particular genealogies trace. Copies of *Memories* are owned by many families as well as the local public library. In this publication, out of about three hundred local families listed only nineteen are not of Ukrainian origin. Thus, the locality's identity coming out of the book is almost exclusively Ukrainian.

All these sites have the potential to influence many individuals' visions of Mundare, especially of younger generations and newcomers. Mundare's past may be seen by them in terms of what is included within these sites. These sites may also have the potential to contribute to people's understandings of their contemporary community, its identity, and their own place within it. The book, the museum and the family histories help many individuals to develop a sense of themselves as Ukrainians, as Ukrainian Canadians, as farmers, and as the descendants of respected pioneer families.

In the following three sections of this chapter I look at three public narrative representations of local culture created in this locality. In all three cases I address

narrative mechanisms of constructing the local cultural scape and its supporting mythology. Both the local cultural scape and local myths are re-created in these representations through various recurring motifs, metaphors, and contrasting imagery of the new versus the old country.

Much of my understanding of narrative principles of the organization of these three sites and what subjectivity they produce in the readers (and viewers) is rooted in Bakhtin's interpretations of the ancient Greek novel and its historical poetics (Bakhtin 1981: 150). For Bakhtin, historical poetics refers to a particular achieved subjectivity within the text. The subjectivity marks out the differences between genres. Text to him is "an X-ray of a specific world view, a crystallization of the concepts particular to a given time and to a given social stratum in a specific society" (Clark and Holquist 1984: 274). His vision of the text and narrative transcends usual categories of plot, composition, and character. Bakhtin is interested in the meanings and identities which the text's organization, the narrative, generates. Thus, instead of formal properties of a text, he addresses the questions of the change in the state of the hero and in the state of the hero's experience of the world. His is truly an anthropological project: "the spatial and temporal growth of a man calibrated in forms of reality" (Bakhtin 1981: 150). Bakhtin's anthropologically informed analysis of ancient Greek and Roman novels concerns above all human identity, its formation, development, and presentation through the text. I am concerned with the same questions.

In my analysis of the three sites I also concentrate on the hero's identity, that is on the collective identity of Mundare people. The hero is the main character of the myths. Analyzing the identity of the heroes in Roman and Greek novels, Bakhtin emphasizes the embeddedness and growth of their characters within the parameters of the spatial and the temporal. He looks at how the heroes' identities unfold and change (or do not) against the background of various landscapes and times through which the heroes travel; and how their moves through place and time affect this change.

Spatial and temporal parameters prove to be important for the authors of the Mundare book, the histories, and the museum, when they discuss the progress and the choices their families made in their individual histories. Choices were often justified in evaluative terms of how good or bad it was "here" or "there," or how good or bad it was "now" or "then." I pay particular attention to these parameters of the narratives as well, for the temporal and the spatial are the main planes against which the identity of the hero unfolds. In each case, I seek to understand how local Ukrainianness is represented in the materials, how the local lifeworld of today is represented, and how the idea of continuity of local Ukrainianness is communicated.

2.2. *Memories of Mundare*

Memories of Mundare is examined here from three perspectives. In the first part of the section, I examine the relationship between the creation of the book and the historical moment in which it was created. This historical moment was the convergence of histories. *Memories* is a multi-authored text; each author was influenced in his or her own

way by his or her particular history, and this affected his or her choice for the content of the book, as well as its form and the manner in which he or she produced it. I examine the means and narrative techniques employed in the book to produce the imagery of the local lifeworld. On one hand, I look at how its spatial and temporal dimensions are represented. On the other hand, I address the question of the identity of the hero of the story. Based on this examination I conclude by describing the imagery of local Ukrainianness produced by the narrative.

Memories *and history*

The Mundare history book published in 1980 is a unique cultural artifact of its own time. Its composition, choice of topics, and narrative techniques reflect the particular historical moment in which the book was created. The book's creation, therefore, should be understood in the context of several convergent histories of local and non-local origin that affected Mundare in the 1970s.

On one hand, the book's publication reflects the workings of the macro-processes of history in this locality. Like any other locality in the world, Mundare has been subjected to cycles of history-at-large, with phases of stability and discontinuity following upon each other and correspondingly impacting the community. The resurgence of narrative as a personal and social means to deal with change is one relevant implication of such 'phasing' of history.

Stephan Cornell (2000) aptly refers to phases characterized by great changes and discontinuities as "rupture." The notion of ruptures in history links up to the idea of cyclic development through mobilization of cultural activity during times of change. Much of the activity during periods of rupture is oriented towards the past and aims at its re-evaluation. The breakdown of structures of the familiar lifeworld creates a need for people to come to terms with their disappearing world. The growing distance between people's lives in the present and the traditional structures of their lifeworld with its conventional unquestioned meanings, transforms them into viewers of their own life. The risk of losing sight of this disappearing life incites them to narrate it, to write about it. People narrate, according to the psychologist Nico Frijda, because of their desire to locate themselves in time (which is constantly on the move) and space (which is also constantly changing) (1997: 108). To narrate in times of rupture is an important way of identifying oneself with the past, in the present, and towards the future, against a background of change. Thus, Frijda maintains, identity is reconstituted in the process of narration and in the resultant narrative product.

Similar observations have been made in relation to autobiographical narratives within the framework of anthropology (Skultans 1998: 25-26), psychology (Bruner 1990:11), and ethnic studies (Cornell 2000:44-45). Recent observations from post-Soviet countries, including Ukraine, confirm these observations. In these countries, cultural deconstruction of the previous regime is accompanied by an active reconstruction through narration of the recent as well as pre-Soviet past. In Latvia, Skultans (1998) writes, severance from the Soviet Union has released a deluge of personal memoirs, life histories and diaries.

Nancy Ries (1997) speculates that in the post-Soviet transition from the Soviet past to a still-unidentified present and even more undefined future, personal narratives and accounts of the past boomed in order to provide a new definition of identity.

In a similar way, narrative also serves social collectivities as a means of working out their identities and coming to terms with their own past, particularly when endangered by change. In times of rupture, group narratives become especially powerful means of negotiating group identity. In those times of instability, identities are "questioned by those who carry them, are called into question by others, or are severely tested by events" (Cornell 2000: 45). The narrative aspect of most ethnic identities lies hidden for the most part beneath its taken-for-granted status, until in periods of rupture it "breaks the surface, becoming more explicit and apparent" (Cornell 2000: 45). Periods of rupture call for the "renarration of group identity" through which the group attempts to integrate new experiences and concerns with old understandings (Cornell 2000: 45-46).

Global factors

Although it wasn't a time of any revolutionary upheavals in Alberta when *Memories* was under preparation, the local lifeworld of Mundare and its environs was experiencing significant change. Starting from the mid-fifties through the sixties, its seeming stability became subject to extensive economic, social, and cultural restructuring. The sixties, overall, were a time of major political, socioeconomical, and cultural rapture in world history. In Western Canadian rural settlements things were changing too, due to growth in the economy, technological development, and new social policies. From the world financial market through national politics down to the level of provincial politics, rural Alberta was affected. The primary feature of these changes was the post-World War Two challenge to the primacy of farming within the provincial economy. Agriculture's share of the net value of production in Alberta fell to less than one-third of its pre-war level by 1971 (cited in Stiles 1990: 27). Mundare has certainly been a part of this Post-war economic scene in Western Canada was characterized by a decreasing share in provincial production, declining population, and increasing centralization of government and commercial services (Carlyle 1989). Mundare has certainly been a part of this scene.

Viewing the same situation from the inside, in the mid-fifties and throughout the sixties farmers and townspeople on the prairies witnessed a major shift in their living conditions, brought about in large part by developing technologies. Electricity started reaching their farm houses. "You know when we got our first electricity? My goodness, that was only in 1964!" (Kate Tichon 03.01.01). The conditions of life, until those decades very similar to those of pioneer times, were changing, though there were still homes without running water or a telephone. "In our house, where I grew up, we didn't have a phone, neither a TV. When was it? Gosh, let's say twenty, yeah, twenty years ago. And there were many other houses like ours. Things have changed since then so much." (Marilyn Mandiuk 03.01.00). Perhaps in response to these changes provoked by the larger process of history, Albertan authors have produced a surge of historical publications in which such conditions are romanticized and mythologized.

Provincial & national factors

Historical developments on the provincial and national levels also played their role in the appearance of *Memories*. Alberta and the federal governments' intentions to mark the centennial of Canada's confederation in 1967 and the province's 75th anniversary in 1980 stimulated the producing of local histories by ordinary people throughout the province. Out of four hundred local histories that were published in Alberta by the 1990s very few were written in the 1940s and 1950s. "Alberta Culture fostered historical publications with grants, workshops, advisors, and competitions since 1973. The number of local histories grew into a flood in the early 1980s but is slowing now as most communities have one or more publications" (Stiles 1990: 29). Such narrativization was paralleled by a corresponding mythologization of Alberta's past (the myth of origins) and of Canada's nation-building (the myth of becoming).

It was also in response to this national and province-wide incentive that Mundare community leaders compiled the community history book. The collectively-created narrative of the past stored and transformed personal memories, all of which had been specially selected for the occasion. Three hundred in total, these personal narratives become a collective subjectivity transformable into the cultural property of the group. In having formulated its myths of origin, the community has also spelled out the foundations of its identity.

Local factors

At the same time, the creation of *Memories* took place due to local cultural and historical dynamics intrinsic to Mundare itself. The proportion of Ukrainian population of the town was declining. The Ukrainian language, which dominated Mundare social space and was even considered Mundare's language (Mary Hicks 1980: 419) became increasingly supplanted by English. The editors and writers in charge of the *Memories* project responded to this situation by fixing in writing their genealogical claims and symbolic rights to this locality. This appears from the submissions included in the book. Only those contributions which demonstrated family's pioneer roots or some significant power were included in the book. The latter would describe families stationed in Mundare even for several years if they were affiliated with businesses like the Canadian Pacific Railway, or held medical practices, or taught in the schools. These criteria of selection – prestige due to age or power – aimed at promoting a particular vision of Mundare's community as well-rooted in the area: venerable through its ties to figures representing the past and successful through its ties to figures representing power. This selectivity served the formation of Mundare's own myth of origins well.

If families invited to contribute to the book were not affiliated with the early beginnings of the village, the authors of the respective stories found important to state that their families significantly contributed to Mundare's well-being. "Not destined to be pioneer farmers, nevertheless, we left our mark in the life of the people in the Mundare and Vegreville vicinities. I feel our greatest contribution was in social and cultural life" (Son 1980: 459). Justifications were given in terms of years of community service. "From the

time of their arrival in Mundare in May of 1924, the Novakowski family story is an important aspect of the history and development of Mundare. Mike and Kate Novakowski and their children have provided a vibrant component to Mundare's past over a period of more than fifty years" (Novakowski 1980: 405).

The creation of *Memories* was also a response to yet another aspect of local history. By the seventies the generation of first settlers, and their children who had also lived through the same conditions of frontier life, were significantly aged and sometimes passed away. Both generations had developed a strong sense of themselves as "pioneer generations" and took upon themselves the responsibility of promoting their own pioneer identity among their younger peers.[42] Similarly, pioneers' children claimed their own share in the "beginnings" and eventually joined aged fathers and mothers in their efforts to commemorate their disappearing world through constructing links to that world along generational lines.

A generation-bound vision of the Mundare locality and its culture became an organizing principle of the book's narrative.[43] Individual stories present family histories in terms of succeeding generations. The book's express purpose is also generations bound:

> We hope that by writing this history, we have played a part in preserving our heritage for the present and future generations, that they may learn of the courage, and hard work of our forefathers who transformed virgin lands into what we have and enjoy today. "The heritage of the past is the seed that brings forth the harvest of the future." (*Memories* 1980: v)

The organization of Memories

The general story of Mundare, and of its public, spiritual, and business institutions unfolds on about hundred and seventy pages in the first nine chapters of *Memories*. The last chapter, "Family Biographies," occupies almost 400 pages and includes 297 individual family histories.

Descriptions of various organizations presented in the first eight parts of the book emphasize the virtues of the community at large. In this general story the emphasis is placed upon (a) the community's spirituality, which is described as unique; (b) the benefits that accrue from this spirituality, i.e., material success; (c) adherence to Ukrainian traditions, which is also viewed as part of this spiritual virtue; and (d) upward mobility, the education instrumental to its successful pursuit, both of which are also presented as part of the collective virtue of this community. In each recollection of Mundare organizational life much of the authors' attention is given to things Ukrainian. In some instances the Ukrainianness is seen as a truly local product, as something that

---

[42] This perception was shared among Ukrainian pioneers. The Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta is 1981 publication detailing its own history describes the founding of the association in 1941 as "just in time to commemorate the fifty-year jubilee of the arrival of the first Ukrainians in Canada" (Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta 1981: 5).

[43] In the case of family histories the generational perspective is clearly their very starting point.

was born in this locality. This Ukrainianness of Mundare is acknowledged in those individual contributions written by non-Ukrainians who worked in town.

The general story emerging from all the descriptions of public life provides much information on the locality, sheds light on its authors' opinions, and confirms the generic theme of the myth. But it is in personal family stories that occupy three quarters of the book that one can identify the Ukrainian-Canadian myth of origin, the frontier pioneer myth, and the myth of Mundare Ukrainianness. Since almost all stories included in *Memories* were written by descendants of the "first" immigrants from Galicia these stories have much in common.

The individual stories in the book revolve around several topics that structure the narrative: the miserable life in the old country: the pain of departure; rooting themselves in Canada (and in this locality), early pioneer hardships; successes yielded by hard work and strong faith; the family growth; children's leaving this locality into the world; and finally the prosperity earned through hard work.

The family stories are of greatly diverse prose quality. Some authors state mere facts describing family progress in terms of marriages, children and their education: "Paul and Katherine were blessed with 35 grandchildren" (E. Bilyk 1980: 203); and of wealth, acres and acquired machinery, as for example, in the family story "Bilyk, John and Katherine" (G. Bilyk 1980: 200). In some cases, like the Lysyk's story, the story progresses in just twenty short sentences. Here is the excerpt:

> William was born to Sam and Marie Lysyk in February of 1915 on a farm in Mundare. He attended Vladimir School till he turned eighteen. He then left school to help his parents on the farm. [...] In 1941, he met Elizabeth Bohaychuk, daughter of Mike and Mary Bohaychuk. [...] They lived on the farm, SW-1-54-17-W4, in a small two room frame house, which was later plastered. [...] Their son Sam was born in 1944 and William D. in 1950. In the spring of 1951, William bought a half a half ton truck and by the fall he acquired half a quarter of land. He kept farming with horses till 1953, when he bought his first tractor and equipment (*Memories* 1980: 356).

Many other stories are more developed. Authors provide descriptions and include even some memories of specific events in the past. The most diligent writers devote much attention to the early years of their families. In their stories the pictures of the hard beginnings are quite elaborate:

> On July 25, 1901, they reached the land that was to be their home, one mile east of Mundare. They chose a place on the south side of a heavy stand of trees, on the side of a hill to build a home. The heavy bush was looked upon as a blessing, to supply firewood and logs for buildings for years to come. The heavy growth of hay was a promising sight after years on the "morgy" land in Ukraine. Little did they realize the hours of heavy labor in store for them before the heavy roots from these giants gave way to farm land. The roots were no match to their meagre tools and many of them had to be grubbed by hand. (sic) The heavy logs cut from the trees made walls for the

houses and barns and the holes were plastered with a mixture of clay and dry grass... (*Memories* 1980: 523).

Most of the stories take up two to three pages. Some are much longer, and some are as short as the Lysyk story cited above. In almost all cases, the family's move through history is reiterated in terms of when family members were born, married, and died. If the authors come from a wealthier family, family progress is recorded in terms of when and what kind of machinery was acquired for the farm.[44]

Reading the book

The book employs narrative means and techniques to produce a particular imagery of this locality and its Ukrainianness. How are their temporal and spatial dimensions constructed? Who is the hero in the narrative? What is his or her identity? How is the story of this locality employing ethnicity, that is, Ukrainianness, in its narrative accounts of the local lifeworld? How is local Ukrainianness woven into the narrative fabric of the writing and how it is reproduced through it? These are the questions I address below.

I brought into this discussion the notion of the "lifeworld" in the previous chapter leaving it mainly undefined.[45] Why have I chosen to discuss narrative representations of locality in terms of the representations of lifeworld? I defined locality above as a lived, social space, a man-made living environment in which people's relationships of a *Gemeinschaft* type are formed producing the sense of the community. *Gemeinschaft* here refers to the social group defined against the broader social organization of the *Gesellschaft* type, that is society (Tönnies 1957 [1887]). The notion of lifeworld also refers to a particular lived and social space, embedded with the sense of community. Yet, there is an important distinction between the two.

In my defining "local lifeworld" I rely on conceptualizations of the social world advanced by Alfred Schutz, Austrian phenomenologist and social scientist (Schutz 1967 [1932], 1989). Schutz, in arguing for a phenomenological understanding of the social world, bases the category of the "social world" on various kinds of social relationships, a project that is not new in the social sciences. But Schutz also sees it as constructed and projected in our minds through our own *social experiences* of it. Schutz asserts that our social experiences make up the social world at large, what he calls "the vast world (*soziale Welt*)" (1967: 139-214). This social world is constituted in a highly complicated network of dimensions, relations, and modes of knowledge. Schutz distinguishes between various

---

[44] Obviously the choice of this material is dictated not only by memory, but by the availability of documents and papers, restricted to the types of information historically needing documentation: hospital certificates of birth, church and civil registrations of marriage and death, legal documents of land possession and receipts for large purchases (of equipment and machinery). These constraints on choice were not in the control of the contributors, but the manner of insertion of this material into the narrative structure of the story is.

[45] The notion of the lifeworld is Edmund Husserl's invention, developed in the 1920s (Husserl 1970 [1954]).

experiences of this world at large: between a *directly* experienced social reality and the reality lying beyond our direct personal experiences. The reality that I experience directly consists of those people with whom I am directly involved, "my fellow men," as Schutz puts it (1967:142). It also consists of those with whom I may become involved. They are my contemporaries. But there are other realities, other social worlds, that I cannot experience directly. These are the world of my predecessors, and the world of my successors. Thus, the social world consists of four "realms," or worlds of experience: directly experienced reality is made up of two worlds, that of "my fellow men" and that of my contemporaries; and the equally real although not directly experienceable worlds of my predecessors, and of my successors (1967: 142-3). A central point is that what Schutz calls directly experienced social reality is not conceivable without the experiences of other worlds which appear as other dimensions of the world immediate to me.

Following Schutz, I understand the local lifeworld as a realm of directly experienced social reality that is nevertheless inconceivable without preceding social realities and succeeding social realities peopled by predecessors and successors although these cannot be directly experienced. Both a (social) past and a (social) future are crucial constituents of one's experience of one's present social reality of one's community and locality. But they are not directly experienced, and therefore the narrative representations of these times, preserving the past for the sake of the future, are vital ways of constituting the present. In the case of Mundare, this is doubly reinforced by the generational dimension of kinship, as the predecessors and successors are one's ancestors and descendants.[46]

Memories is a vivid illustration of the importance of the world of predecessors and successors for Mundarites' experience of their ongoing life, as well as how these past and future worlds are constitutive – and thus potentially restorative in time of rupture – of the local lifeworld in the present. The book is written about ancestors for descendants. The statement of purpose I cited earlier, to *preserve our* past for *their* future, is recycled in many other parts of the book; in personal memoirs, and in general texts about Mundare. Unlike professional historians whose task is to *explain*, reconstruct, and interpret the past, the lay historians, those annalists who inherently dramatize and novelize the past (White 1987: 32-3). They write *to preserve* it. The consequence of this aim is to fix the past in accord with the conventions of the present.

This "preservational intent" has dictated the actual shape the Mundare book narrative has taken as evident by its organization and style of presentation. It excluded those aspects of the past that would challenge the image of the community as deeply moral. At the same time, the task to 'preserve' legitimized the redundancy and multiplicity of identical statements that advocate this imagery.

For an ethnographer, precisely this redundancy in the book's narrative is of importance. Such repetition is a special feature of local history book narratives and is an important means of communicating local subjectivity. Such redundancy enables the careful reader

---

[46] The question of the experiences of the local lifeworld is addressed again in the forth chapter where I discuss local understandings of the overseas kin (as practiced in Mundare and Hrytsevolia).

to perceive the image of a singular shared history. Themes and topics repeated from one individual narrative to another, producing the story of the community's origins, the hardships of the pioneer life, a strong faith, an ethos of hard labor, and finally the reward of prosperity. The book's emerging subjectivity, locals' shared values and attitudes towards the world, their locality, and themselves, is encoded in these repetitions.

Such subjectivity also forces the reader to take a stance in response. If she is born in Mundare, this is her past, whether she denies it or accepts it. In recognizing this she re-adjusts herself to this image of her community's past. If she is a new town citizen, this is her source for what this community was, and perhaps still is, about. She trusts a source like this one. She reads stories and extracts "the" story. As Hayden White (1987) suggests in his critique of narrative principles of writing history, such formal properties of the narrative are responsible for a subjectivity of the text established in the reader. It is through this formulated, collective subjectivity that the book conveys a specific sense of the local lifeworld and its Ukrainianness.

Narrative means of representing local lifeworld

The following means of representing the local lifeworld of Mundare are employed in individual and organizational stories of *Memories*: visual imagery, spatial metaphors and juxtaposition of *here* to *there* (*here* in Mundare [or Canada], and *there* in Ukraine); *now* to *then (now* in the 1980s and *then* either the pioneer times, or time in the old country); and *us* to *them* (*us* Mundarites [or Ukrainians in Canada], and *them* people in Ukraine).

Narrative presentations of the local lifeworld are also realized through metaphors of kinship and of generations. I will discuss the local meanings of generations and kinship in greater detail in the next part of this chapter where I address the narrative organization of the Museum's display. In addition, the lived time of individual families is marked in narrative by (a) references to the major events in the life cycle such as births, deaths, and weddings of individual family members; (b) by listings of all the "firsts": the first house the family built, the first farm machinery they acquired, the first car they bought, and so on; and (c) by major events (farm accidents, fires) that the family endures.

It is by these means that the local world is defined in the narrative. Thus, it emerges that the overall justification of Mundare's local lifeworld is achieved through comparison to what it was *there*, how it was *then*, and who *they* were. All these techniques convey a particular imagery and understandings of what the "old country" is.

Visual representations

One of the most obvious ways to represent the space *here* in *Memories* is through the use of visual imagery. Pictures placed densely next to each other throughout the text create an image of Mundare as a densely populated town, with numerous businesses and community organizations. Many families are shown in front of their houses, yards, and cars. Children, the proof of the community's virility and continuity, are held on the laps of their grandparents, surrounded by the rest of their large families. The overwhelming

number of faces, frowning or smiling – more commonly frowning, or looking stolidly, in the older pictures – look out at the reader from page after page, creating the impression of a steady community growth, drawing the image of Mundare as a large, ever-expanding community full of youth. Pictures depicting various structures, businesses, and houses, and pictures of large gatherings taken during various public events, all contribute to the same image of the bustling and vibrant community Mundare supposedly was. Of course pictures were taken as a rule on special occasions; hence the many fancy hairstyles, evening gowns and suits, and formal poses. Everyday life is rarely depicted in the book.

Visual representation of the local lifeworld also relies on an oscillation between the symbolic realms of *here* and *there*. To locate Mundare in relation to the outside world, the book juxtaposes cartographic images on the end sheets: the book opens onto a map of Lamont county containing Mundare, and closes onto a map of Ukraine. The book begins and ends with geographic representations of the two worlds that are constantly linked throughout the text. This also enables the reader to connect references to various places of family origins found in the book with geographic areas depicted on this map of the "old country." Although each map is the same size, the maps representing these places of *here* and *there* are drastically different in scale (Ukraine's being greatly reduced). Both cartographic images share a great deal of topography: Brody (in Mundare)-*Brody* (in Ukraine), Kolomea-*Kolomyia*, Ukraina-*Ukraine*, Stanislawov- *Stanyslaviv*, Podola - *Podillia*, to name just a few.[47] This creates a powerful visual metaphor for how ambiguous the notion of home(land) has been in Mundare for many generations. On the one hand there is the distinction between the old home (i.e. the old country) and the new one. Yet, at the same time differences between the two are blurred.

Benedict Anderson, in his new edition of *Imagined Communities*, discusses this historical habit of naming new lands (New Hampshire, New York, New Orleans) with toponyms of the old world. He underlines that the space in the new world was conceptualized as *parallel* to the spaces of the old world, rather than a *consequent* one inheriting the meanings of the old world (Anderson 1991: 187). In the Mundare area, the adjective "new" was rarely added in front of geographic names brought from the old country. In the Ukrainian Bloc in Alberta, "Brody," and "Kolomea" (the names of two towns in Western Ukraine, Galicia) labeled what was seen as "undomesticated" space. Such presentation of the two worlds *here* and *there*, as superimposed, suggests that the "new" place replaced rather than paralleled the "old," and attests to the complex manner in which the locality in the new world has been conceptualized by its own residents.

Spatial metaphors and oscillations of here/there

It is not only in the usage of its names that the "old country" is utilized in definitions of the new local lifeworld. Other kinds of oscillation, also mediated through narrative, between the spatial world of *here* and that of *there* also play a role. Spatial metaphors, verbal and visual, fill an important role in the creation of memoirs, autobiographies, and

[47] Canadian geographer John Lehr discusses similar topographic practices of Ukrainian settlers in Manitoba (Lehr 1975, 1985).

in narrating personal memories. Skultans, analyzing autobiographical narratives of Latvians, noted that these memories are embedded in landscape, and the landscape is used to contrast time and identity (1998: 32). Others, especially cognitive psychologists, have also emphasized that the imagery of autobiographical memories is encoded in a person's lived space and time (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997).

This tendency of personal remembering and narrating creates the precedent for collective memories to be encoded in similar metaphors. The book creators opted to open the text of the book with the following poem authored by a local poet in which references to the past are conveyed in spatial terms:

> Then once again we will recall
> The things we loved so well...
> The shady lanes where we would stroll
> As evening shadows fell.
>
> The park, the church, the school, the store,
> The friendly folks back home,
> The sunny creeks, the meadows, and
> The hills we used to roam.
>
> These memories are something which
> My heart will always store...
> And joys and happiness they bring
> Are mine forevermore. (*Memories* 1980: iv)

Narratives of *Memories* in representing the spatiality of the local lifeworld go further than just reiterating the spatial content of the past. The writers' attempts to justify the created lifeworld in Mundare vicinities rely on the spaces and landscapes of both home lands, of the old and the new. Legitimizing global displacements of the forefathers and seeking cultural continuity in the new land is accomplished with the help of spatial metaphors of both worlds. It is in juxtaposing the two to each other that the new world is legitimized as the better one. Since for those working on the land, the land is the most meaningful reference, almost to the degree of being sacred, it is often the starting point of such cross referencing:

> The [Mundare] region is part of the Aspen Parkland which is a phenomenon of that part of the Steppes of Ukraine known as Halychyna from which most of the Mundare pioneers came.
>
> ... The terrain is not level but varies with gently undulating countryside in which trees and tangled shrubbery mingled with the cultivated fields. Everywhere, too, are sloughs and marshes and creeks but no rivers as there are in Halychyna.
>
> ...The Ukrainian homesteaders knew that underneath the fescure freasses and aspen trees was rich black soil like at "home"; therefore, they searched for homesteads in the heavily-wooden areas.

> ... How right they were! Visitors from other parts of North America and even from such rich farm areas as those around Calmar and Nisku, marvel at the blackness of these "Chernozem Soils." (Polomark 1980: 1)

The new home, like the land, is brought into the text by way of contrast with the old home:

> ... The gardens are a delight with their well kept green lawns, trees, and a profusion of colour when the geraniums, dahlias, delphiniums, asters, marigolds, petunias, begonias and other flowers are in full blossom. The Ukrainians love bright colors in their embroidery, in their Easter egg writing, and in their costumes. Poor as they were in the "old" country, they all had small plots of colorful sunflowers, poppies, larkspur and others. Almost every weeping woman took a handful of flower seeds when she left her dear homeland to venture out into the unknown. (Polomark 1980: 3)

Through this oscillation between *here* and *there* in public and personal narratives a new lived geography is created, patching together the past and the present, two lands and two cultures. It is clear how naming places with names brought from the homeland, as discussed above, would consolidate this connection. Not surprisingly, it is in these names that someone from Ukraine can recognize a locale as being part of her own history and culture.

Beautification of the new land has become another means of justifying the forefathers' choice to leave one land for another:

> Settling in the Podola district, at the north end of Beaverhill Lake, Prokip was happy because Beaverhill Creek cut through one corner of his homestead. So plentiful were the fish in it, that on one occasion he took a wagon load to the church at Seniuk's for his neighbours who did not have the luxury of their own creek. Living close to the lake, with its' millions of waterfowl that filled the twilight hours with a clamor that will never be heard again, he had big and little game close to hand, a well-stocked creek and plenty of sloughs everywhere. (*Memories* 1980: 180)

Once again, the author of the above account completes it with a reference to "there" in order to accentuate the rightness in his/her grandfather's choice to come to this new land:

> This was something like the life he had seen in the Ukraine except that here it was for his own enjoyment, not that of a titled count or duke (*Memories* 1980: 180).

Presenting the hero and hero's identity

In his analysis of how the main character is presented in Greek romance, Mikhail Bakhtin addresses more the question of identity and moral qualities of the narrative's heroes (1981). Bakhtin is more concerned with the question whether and how identity changes through the course of action depicted in the novel. I consider similar questions with respect to the hero of *Memories'* grand narrative.

According to Bakhtin, if the hero is depicted as someone who has matured from one state of consciousness into another, as someone who, due to undergoing ordeals, has changed into a better (or at least different) person, then such a depiction attempts to present the real human being who, moving through life, acquires new qualities, develops his own attitudes, and formulates his own values. That is, this will be a 'realistic' depiction of a person whose personality would be molded through his experience and whose identity would indeed change over the course of life.

On the other hand, if the hero is depicted as such that the "hammer of events shatters nothing and forges nothing," merely trying the durability of an already established personality and identity of the hero, then, Bakhtin notes, the reader is dealing with a depiction which attempts to present not a real human being but a folkloric man, whose qualities are known from the onset of the story and whose qualities will remain the same until the end (Bakhtin 1981: 105-107). The folkloric concept of man, Bakhtin points out, is the one that can be found in various aspects of folklore, including fairy tales. I would add that folkloric man is also the one who is the hero of myths, both ancient and contemporary. This is the man whose indestructible power survives in his struggle with nature and fate (Bakhtin 1981: 105). In the local history book, if the hero of the story is shown as an unchanged person (or an unchanged collectivity), then the narrative mythologizes its hero rather than depicting him in more "realistic" fashion.

First let me consider the course of action or the life path which the main, collective hero of the *Memories* narrative has been following according to the stories in the book. Most of the "Galician" stories begin with the motif of leaving the "old country" which parallels the motif of the hero's leaving the home in search for something that he needs to find in "other" lands (cf. Propp 1968 [1928]: 39):

> Early in 1898, Andrew Bandura, his wife Rosalia (Wasylow) and their five children, Teklia, Mike, Anton, Jessie and John in the village of Skorodynec, the county of Chortkiw, in the province of Halychyna (also known as Galicia) bade their relatives and friends farewell, took the possessions and set out in search of a better life in Western Canada. (Bandura 1980: 181)

As in the fairy tale, the hero has to overcome hardships and difficulties on the way towards his goal to find "a better life." The first ordeal has to do with (the "odyssey" of) the ocean-crossing:

> They boarded the ship and sailed to Canada with great enthusiasm, they encountered many ocean storms on the North Atlantic, and the consequent rocking of the ship up and down, and from side to side. Both Damian and Docia became violently seasick resulting in their being confined to bed most of the trip. It was an experience never forgotten. (Lazarenko 1980: 342)

But of course this is only the beginning of a long sequence of further ordeals that, although varying from family to family, all have to do with the hardships the settlers encountered while in Canada. Lazarenko continues the story of his family's ordeals which had to be overcome. Of the five pages of his story, one-third is devoted to describing

these hardships. The following are the opening sentences of ten of the paragraphs from the story:

> ... We wonder about their concerns, troubles, and tribulations on their arrival to Edmonton. [...] From the beginning, times were hard and it was difficult to earn money. [...] His first ten years were very difficult. [...] Until 1905, there was no town for shopping, no railway, and no opportunity to communicate with anybody. [...] Breaking the land was done with the walking plow. [...] Settling on this farm meant untold hardships. [...] The early years were very difficult because heavy rains persisted during that period. [...] And then there were floods from time to time. [...] Accidents also happened in the area and very little could be done to alleviate the pain and suffering. [...] Economic outlook became very grim (in 1930). [...] With the passing of 1932, economic conditions deteriorated. (Lazarenko 1980: 342-44).

This citation from Lazarenko is representative. All these ordeals are presented in the book's grand narrative as the test of the hero's integrity, determination, and will to succeed. As a result of these trials, the hero of the narrative – i.e. the early settlers, their children, and subsequent generations of their children, are depicted as strong, motivated, determined, moral people capable of carrying on through all the challenges of life. In other words, they had to be depicted as already fully-realized individuals with a strong identity, whose qualities remain relatively unchanged. The narratives proceed as if none of these most dramatic and potentially traumatic, experiences (leaving behind the familiar small world of their villages, emigrating, plowing for decades in frontier conditions, natural disasters, accidents, economic depression) had any effect on their already formed identity.

In describing the harshness of life in their recollections of the past in great detail, the authors create a gallery of pioneer heroes whose heroic identity remains constant throughout times and trials. Heroism is defined in the stories in terms of spirituality, morality, and strength of character. "The family was prepared to face [...] discomforts and hardships that were bound to occur" (Babiy 1980: 178).

> With the coming of spring, hope was strong again for better times... The rich soil bore well and with the bountiful wild berries, mushrooms, ducks, rabbits and other game, the family was able to dry and store food for winter. ... They built fences and cultivated a few more acres of precious land and felled more trees. Children worked side by side with parents with never a word of complaint. (*Memories* 1980: 523)

Story after story emerges of the hard-working farmer who came from Galicia, who never feared any hardships, but who was happy to escape the oppressiveness of his homeland. "Like true pioneers they had genuine concern for others" (Hewko 1980: 282). Mundare people appear as unique in their good heartedness, openness, and hospitality. "I have met many people, but none can compare with the warm hearted, generous "nashi" [our] Ukrainian people" (Browne 1980: 210). "The happiest times we all remember were spent in Mundare. There were quilting bees, cooking sessions, feather pillow making, and visits with relatives and friends when typical dishes like *holubtsi*, *nalysnyky*, and borsch graced hospitable Ukrainian tables. To our parents it must have seemed like "Little Ukraine"

(Romaniuk Hrubizna 1980: 442). The children are presented as bearing these same qualities throughout their life. They also bear the same identity of a hard-working people.

They are not only good farmers who pride themselves on their attachment to the land. They have also always had faith in God. There is a difference however in how the identity of the farmer emerges in the book narrative and how the Christian's identity is conveyed in the stories. The farmer's identity is conveyed *implicitly* via narrative means employed in the texts. The local lifeworld is spatially and temporarily organized as the world of a farmer. Its space is the space of the farmer, its time is the time of the farmer in taking for granted the omnipresence of the farming environment; the work in the fields, the rhythm of the seasons, the reliance on nature, the symbolism of soil, harvest, and simple, hearty food. The Christian identity, on the contrary, is *explicitly* emphasized by authors throughout their accounts. The first identity has to be deciphered from the thickness of the text, which it permeates in being unspoken. The second identity is self-consciously and reflexively promoted by the authors themselves:

> Their prayers were answered because with the passing of time everything turned out quite well and certainly far beyond their fearful expectations. (Memories 1980: 181)
>
> During their life time Paul and Katherine had a strong faith and were always good members of the St. Peter and Paul Church in Mundare. (Bilyk 1980: 203)
>
> The Chmilars still observe the traditions which their grandparents brought from "home." The Christmas and Easter traditions are carried on as described in the first portion of this history. (Chmilar 1980: 215)
>
> [The Feduns] came to Canada [...] with a strong faith in God, and in the future for themselves, and their children. (Procinsky 1980: 258)

The stories of twenty families of non-Slavic background included in the book do not override the dominating figure of the Galician and the farmer, whose views on life would later contribute to the collective subjectivity of Mundare. He is the true hero of the myth of Mundare origins.

The question of the unchanging identity of the hero is directly addressed by some authors who elevate their family accounts from a mere stating of the facts to actively contemplating the fate of their own kin and community. Such contemplations are often illustrated by juxtaposition of *us here* and *them there*. The portraits of settlers are at times narrated in opposition to what they were in the old country, or against who they could have become would they have never left their homelands.[48]

---

[48] Creating the figures of their forefathers, writers of family histories relied on different understandings of history and its workings. Those writers who themselves experienced pioneer life had a tendency to reflect upon it in rather personal terms. In the writing of those born later, and who did not have first-hand experiences of pioneer hardships, the distance between the two worlds became more and more constructed in abstract rather than personal terms. This also concretely illustrates the aptness of Schutz's distinction within the lifeworld between the directly experienceable world of one's contemporaries (those who lived through the pioneer times, who employed personal terms) and the necessary but

> Usually, history has a way of changing the lives of oppressed people from bad to worse but occasionally it offers escape, without the promise of improvement. The opportunity to get away was all that our forefathers wanted. They didn't seek an absolute guarantee of the better life and indeed, did not dare hope for it. Centuries of war, famine and plague had conditioned them toward acceptance of their lot. Were it not for their unshakable belief in a wise and benevolent God, they might long since have given up hope and lost their identity in the circle of nations that sometimes tried to annihilate them and always sought to enslave them. (Memories 1980: 180)

The reference to identity implies of course to *Ukrainian* identity, which is believed to have been clearly developed still in Galicia. This understanding is widespread among Mundare farmers of Ukrainian background, as well as among Ukrainian Canadians in general and confirms the dynamism of the mythology being created and recreated in *Memories*.[49]

Representations of local Ukrainianness

How does the narrative of *Memories* present Mundare Ukrainianness? At a first glance this is obviously accomplished through direct statements on how Ukrainian this locality is. A closer look shows that throughout, even without the explicit claims about the Ukrainianness of Mundare, it is frequently implied. Direct, explicit statements of authors with respect to Mundare's Ukrainianness can be found in abundance in the book, in both personal histories and general stories. The Ukrainianness of Mundare is linked by direct references to things Ukrainian, such as food, calendric celebrations, church, music, singing, and dancing in many stories.

The general history of Mundare insists that it was Ukrainians – not Galicians, or Austrians, or Ruthenians – who settled in this area, surrounded by other ethnic groups with whom they had peacefully co-existed in the "old country" and with whom they continued to peacefully co-exist in their new, host country (Polomark 1980: 10). The Mundare community of Ukrainians, we are told, is a neighbour to the "Ukrainian capital of North America," Vegreville. And, "paradoxically, eventually [Mundare] became more Ukrainian than many towns in the Ukraine" (cf. Polomark 1980: 11). "The largest parish was of course, [the general story continues] composed of Ukrainian Catholics. Today's descendants of the "sons of the soil" are also labeled as Ukrainians (Polomark 1980: 14). Mundare is called "little Ukraine" in one family story (Romaniuk Hrubizna 1980: 443). In another family story, the Ukrainian language is "recognized" as Mundare language (Hicks 1980: 419). In yet other stories, authors place an emphasis on how Mundare

---

mediated world of one's predecessors (those whose fathers were the pioneers, who employed abstract terms).

[49] On the other hand, while this is a prevailing understanding, it does not affect the tendency to think of first settlers from Ukraine in Anglicized terms. Practically all family histories, when describing their forefathers who came from the Ukrainian territories, refer to them using English names. It was Nick, John, Paul, Mike, William, Steve, Matthew, and their wives, Dorothy, Catherine, Jenny, Theresa, Penny, and so on, who came to Canada; not Mykola, Ivan, Mykhailo, Vasyl, Matvei, Daria, Kateryna, Tereza, and Paraska, although these would have been the names they actually utilized.

celebrated religious holidays "in a Ukrainian manner." The overall impression is that Mundare is a Ukrainian town on the prairies, and even more Ukrainian than towns in Ukraine. Local stories of community and church organizations, local family names, topography, continuously attest to things Ukrainian.

Mundare is also acknowledged as a Ukrainian town by authors of non-Ukrainian origin. Writers of Anglo-Celt, Scottish, and Pakistani background commented how wonderful it was for them to live and work among Ukrainians in Mundare (Byron Moore 1980: 8, Kelly 1980: 295-296). Perhaps it is due to the fact that Ukrainians became the mainstream in the Mundare area and they soon began to represent local power. Early professionals, who were usually non-Ukrainians, commented on how Ukrainian the town was during the times in Mundare. They themselves were praised by others for their sensitivity to the local Ukrainianness and for their learned ability to speak the Ukrainian language (McAllister 1980: 371).[50]

Mundare Ukrainianness is presented in the book as one unchanging aspect of the local lifeworld. Mundare locality is explicitly pronounced as Ukrainian from its early days until the time of the book's publication. It is seen also as a genealogically continuous lifeworld.

Conclusions

In writing up these extensive accounts of Mundare's past, Mundarites have created a picture of their locality based primarily upon a way of imagining themselves that is very much an expression of the circumstances of the locality in the 1970s and early 1980s. The book's creation was a response to a number of historical processes – global, national, provincial, and local – that impacted upon the locality. Without following any critical methodology in compiling *Memories* and with practically no editing or revising of the content, the final text is rich with abundant imagery of the local lifeworld and its culture as it has been unfolding in the lives of its authors and their ancestors. Its Ukrainianness is conveyed openly in the texts. The resulting history is a history of Mundare Ukrainians.

The book's narrative presents visions on locality as formulated by community elders; the aging generation of pioneers themselves. On the other hand, *Memories* is a project of a generation, roughly, of sons and daughters (in some cases of grandsons and granddaughters) of first immigrants to this area ranging from the late 1890s until early 1930s. The children's project was to pay a tribute to "our fathers." Thus, the "generation," being the narrative tool for organizing the story, also emerges in the text as the main agent that played an important role in building community's prosperity.

Secondly, the narrative is organized around the kin vocabulary descending from the past to the present: from fathers to children, their children, and to future generations. This

---

[50] At the same time the distance between the two groups remains encoded in various ways, such as the formality of the descriptions accompanying some pictures: "Baba Zaozimy and Daciuk" versus "Mrs. Mary Ashmore and Mrs. Stevenson" (*Memories* 1980: 30), or "Mrs. McAllister, Polomark, Pehowich, [...] Mr. Eaton, Mr. A. E. Milne, Mrs. C. Milne." (*Memories* 1980: 29).

insures the sense of continuity of this locality and its rootedness in the history and geography of the two continents.

Thirdly, *Memories* fuses the personal and the public. Both the story of Mundare and individual family histories presented in the book are so closely intertwined and cross-referenced that they all seem to be variations on the same theme. Put together, the personal narratives of about 300 authors create the virtual field of the shared lived experience of the community.

Fourthly, as a result, the emerging image of stability and continuity of the local community, of its identity and of its Ukrainianness, become the main characteristic of the book's narrative. The community has been constantly changing, with people moving in and out, with children growing and leaving the town in all directions, although this 1980 publication offers the image of it as being relatively stable in terms of its Ukrainian identity and population. From reading the stories, it appears that many authors who contributed to the book lived outside Mundare in 1980, although their accounts in this book create the impression of greater permanence there.

Written from the locals' perspectives of the late 1970s, the book monumentalized frontier times and mythologized pioneers as heroes of community-building and nation-building. By giving much room in the book to things markedly Ukrainian, the authors launched a Ukrainian version of the frontier myth, one in which the pioneer-hero and farmer-hero emerge as founders of the Mundare community and the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

2.3. The Museum

This section analyses museum representations of local Ukrainianness from a narrative perspective. Like any other literary or historical narrative the Basilian Fathers' Museum story is characterized by the same narrative principles of selecting and plotting: principles of inclusion and exclusion, breaking down history into a sequence of events, emphasizing selected events and facts, undermining and omitting others. In selectively reiterating historical events of local and global origin, the museum offers its own interpretations of their significance to local culture. This selectiveness is governed on three levels: 1) By the fact that the museum is authored by a well-established and influential religious transnational organization; 2) by an official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse with regard to the history of Ukrainian Canadians, and 3) by modern principles of reflexivity.

Since the museum is concerned with representing local Ukrainianness, what image does its narrative present? In addressing this question, several concerns arise. How is the relationship between the locality and global historical processes presented in the museum story? What is the narrative relationship between the local lifeworld and Ukraine? What is the museum's role in the development of local mythologies of origin, descent, and belonging, in relation to the grand history of Ukrainian Canadians? Who is the main hero of this story? What is the hero's identity? I address these issues by examining the

narrative principles of the museum representation. In what follows I analyze how the museum representation places Mundare within the frameworks of many histories, conferring a unique identity on the locality and defining it temporally by using the past to legitimate the present, but also situating the locality against a backdrop of global events and transnational processes.

My thesis is that in doing so the museum places Mundare at the centre of both the pioneer myth of Western Canadian frontier and the Ukrainian-Canadian myth of origin. The museum does this as effectively as the local history book, for (a) the museum representation is informed not only by local discourses, but by non-local, institutional discourses (of the Basilian Fathers organization, and of the academic community); (b) the museum representation relies on a different utilization of public and personal stories than the book does; (c) the museum representation emphasizes the pioneer, Ukrainian, and Christian (specifically, Ukrainian Catholic) identities of the locals while their identity as farmers remains in the background; and (d) the museum story is a story-in-progress, being constantly redesigned as new exhibits are introduced.

To address the questions posed above, I first briefly discuss the museum's relationship to history and the changes that occurred in the organization of its displays in 1992-2001. I then look closer at the museum's permanent exhibit "New home in the West" to see what kind of a story it offers to the viewers. Here I look at the time and space parameters of the presented world in which the hero lives and the hero's identity unfolds. Its story of Ukrainian immigration to Canada is told in textual explications and through its visual displays. I proceed to discuss the hero, and time and space parameters of the story of Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. Together these stories present a different version of local Ukrainianness and its hero. While looking at these stories, I discuss the narrative means which the museum utilizes to formulate its meta-narrative of local Ukrainianness; juxtapositions of "here" to "there," and "now" to "then," combinations of the general and the particular, and symbolic representations of Ukrainianness by means of Ukraine's folk art.

Museum and history

The museum representation of Mundare Ukrainianness deals with different particularities of history than *Memories*. All these particularities led to the formation of a different representation of Mundare locality and its Ukrainianness than the one offered by the book.

First, both projects were differently masterminded. Behind them there were two different kinds of authors. Despite the fact that the book project was the brainchild of the Basilian Fathers (Gwen Polomark 06.11.00), it was produced by a local secular organization of community elders, a historical society of Mundare temporarily struck for the express purpose of running the project. The museum is the offspring of the Basilian Fathers. Logically, there were different issues at stake when the both projects were conceived. For the book committee it was the town's and community's identity that mattered above all (and correspondingly, guidelines particular to the interests of each were followed). On the

other hand, the museum served the Basilian order and aspired to represent the history of the Order first, and only later local history in general.[51]

Second, while the book's stories were collected all at once, responding to the commemorative initiatives of the provincial government, the museum collection has been expanding for over half a century. The museum's unofficially began in 1949 when the building housing the Basilian press became vacant and the Fathers decided to use it for storing their already substantial collection of historic valuables (Museum Leaflet 1998). On the other hand, the expansion of the museum undertaken in the late 1980s and the building of the new museum structure was linked to the centennial celebrations of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada taking place in 1991. In 1990 the museum moved into a new modern building.

Third, the museum's development was not exactly a response to times of rupture, or to a breakdown in the structures of the local lifeworld. Rather its development paralleled the history of the gradual establishment of the Basilians in the area.

Fourth, until 1991 the museum's unfolding story was in the hands of non-professionals, in terms of expertise in museum work. Similarly, the book's story was created and edited by non-professional writers. Since the museum's unofficial inception in 1949, the Fathers were in charge of the concept of the museum and a string of priest directors set up its numerous displays. In 1991 this changed, as the museum hired a professional curator trained in museum studies to run its exhibits. Dagmar Rais, neither a local person nor a Ukrainian, but a professional museologist from the Czech republic who immigrated to Canada and who resides in the city of Edmonton, became the museum curator. Much has changed with the arrival of the new curator, including the strengthening tendency to rely on narrative means in presenting various exhibits. New curator also is responsible for the shift in representing the community and local identity beyond Ukrainian Catholic church.

When I visited the museum for the first time in 1992, it presented me with a story of local Ukrainianness in an eclectic rather than narrative form. The museum displays conveyed a strong sense of a Ukrainian Catholic presence in the area while excluding any reference to other religious denominations and the non-Ukrainian population. Stories about the Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Alberta promoted the idea of the spiritual strength of both the religious communities and their lay followers. Many ethnographic artifacts, including Ukrainian traditional embroidery, weaving, Easter eggs, and pottery, were scattered throughout the museum. Some of these were brought from Ukraine and some produced in North America.

Rare medieval manuscripts, publications, and various religious artifacts brought by monks from Ukraine and Europe pointed to the other histories in which the Basilian Order participates. While these artifacts were stored on the shelves or the walls of the

---

[51] Representations of Ukrainian immigration to Canada are a late addition to the Museum displays, beginning only in 1997. The Museum leaflet states that the idea of creating a Museum had spontaneously emerged when the Fathers realized that they needed space for the "many religious and cultural artifacts that the Basilians wanted to preserve for future generations."

museum, they were not "storied." Displayed unsystematically throughout the museum space, they provided the viewer with some idea of the Order's rootedness in European and world history. Museum displays combined the history of the Ukrainian settlement in the Mundare area and the history of the Basilian Fathers in Canada through blending together two themes: "The Basilian Fathers and Their People" and "The Ukrainian People and Their Fathers" (Museum leaflet 1998).

Since 1997, the time I first set foot in the community as an ethnographer, I have been observing a gradual change in the selection of exhibit topics displayed to the public. In 1997 the new permanent display "New home in the West" was officially opened. Within the last four years the museum exhibits have been promoting not only the Basilians' agenda, supplemented with displays of Ukrainian folk arts, but specifically *local Ukrainian culture* and even *local cultural practices*. These include the collection of memorabilia like old pictures and old calendars; local wedding practices, local family histories etc. Brought together and displayed in the halls of the museum, they each contribute to the ongoing definition of this locality, its identity, its place within Canadian national culture, and its connection to history. These changes in representations reflect the advance of modern reflexivity.

Patches of several histories, local and non-local, are interwoven in the museum narrative. As of June 2000 the museum had mounted several exhibits, each of different scope and depth of presentation. Non-local history was addressed in the following displays: the permanent gallery "The New Home in the West," offers "a Ukrainian immigration story," as described by the curator.[52] Another permanent gallery titled "New Home" is "conveying the *story* of the Basilian Fathers' mission" in the world and in east Central Alberta (Museum explication). "A Treasured Heritage" displays traditional artifacts of Ukrainian folk art, some of it produced in Ukraine, some in North America. "Wooden Churches of Ukraine" presents a collection of twelve plaques with images of the vernacular religious architecture of Western Ukraine. Another display supplies histories of Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Lamont county. Yet another display is devoted solely to the "Baptism of Ukraine." The traveling exhibit "The Barbed Wire Solution" offers a story of the treatment of Ukrainians during Canada internment operations in 1914-1920.[53]

Many other small exhibits address local history and promote the local pioneer past. The exhibit "The town of Mundare" displays in pictures and stories several Mundare establishments: "The Story of the Hawryluk Store," "The Laibida Family and the Mundare Hotel, "The Enterprenuerial Polomark Brothers," and "The Story of Mundare" itself. The temporary exhibit "Collector's Extravaganza — Odds and Ends" is based on

---

[52] In the curator's promotional letter "Season 2000... Museum Update on New Displays," May 2000. Similar descriptions of new exhibits appeared, virtually unchanged from one newspaper to the next, when the Museum published promotional materials prior to the opening of its exhibits in May 2000. All citations in this paragraph refer to the same source.

[53] The traveling exhibit was presented by the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre.

Father Josaphat Jean's collection of miscellaneous artifacts.[54] Another temporary exhibit "A Century in Canada" is "dedicated to the forefathers of oldest families living today in Mundare and area who came to Canada and settled here 100 years ago" (Museum display text). An exhibit "That's the way it was" concentrates on the life and work of local historian Michael Tomyn. In 2000, a temporary exhibit "Centennial at Skaro" introduced a story of a neighbouring Ukrainian Catholic parish into the Mundare narrative. "Sts. Peter and Paul *Vidpust* [Saints' Day] in Mundare, Alta" outlines local Ukrainian Catholic religious celebrations. Another exhibit concentrates on the history of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.

The diversity of themes presented in the museum rightfully reflects the richness of Mundare history. Placed next to each other, all these stories suggest the background against which local culture has taken its shape.

Let me turn to the permanent exhibit which tells the story of Ukrainian emigration to Canada and to Mundare, as I encountered it in 2000-2001.[55] I am particularly interested in seeing how the museum narrative defines its hero, and how the hero's moving through history and geography affect the hero's identity. I discuss the temporal and spatial dimensions of the hero's world, how the hero's identity is represented in this exhibit, and what means are utilized to create such imagery. My goal is to understand how the museum narrates the myths of beginning and of founding and how it conveys the idea of territorial and genealogical continuity of Mundare Ukrainianness.

The immigration story

Open in 1997, the permanent gallery "The New Home in the West" is the first gallery the visitor is to explore. It is the Ukrainian immigration story.[56] Introducing this story of immigration into the museum narrative, the museum places Mundare within the broader context of history, and the Mundare community within the larger context of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

---

[54] Father Jean, originally a French missionary, became a Ukrainian Basilian in the early 20th century, learned the Ukrainian language, and served Ukrainian Catholics in the area. He has become one of the most important figures in the local Basilian myth of the beginnings.

[55] Recent publications about the exhibit include: Jars Balan (1997); "New Exhibits opening at Basilian Fathers Museum" in *Vegreville Observer*, May 5, 2000, p. 2, 8; "Basilian Fathers Museum is Alberta's best kept secret" in *Advertiser*, April 17, 2000. pp. 35, 37. A special article is devoted to the curator Dagmar Rais, "The woman behind the Museums" in *Redwater, Alberta*. Vol. 11, No.27, May 22, 2000.

[56] The Ukrainian immigration story, or rather its general plot, is presented in several Ukrainian museums in Canada, such as the Ukrainian Museum of Canada (Saskatoon), its branch in Toronto, and in the Ukrainian Heritage Village (Edmonton). It has been elaborated from one conference presentation to another, from one University course to another. What migrates from one setting to another is the actual plot of the story. How to flesh it out remains the responsibility of local storytellers within their museums.

Figure 2. Entrance to the Permanent Gallery. Basilian Fathers Museum (exhibit curator Dagmar Rais).

The fact that the museum operates at the intersection of several cultural scapes of local lifeworld, of Greek Catholicism, and of academia, affected the resultant narrative of this exhibit. This intersection also attests to Mundare's involvement in modern reflexivity. The museum's location in the heart of Mundare community, its being run by the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Basilian Order, its membership in the growing regional network of the *Kalyna country* eco-museum,[57] and its being subjected to the academic discussions of those who study Ukrainian-Canadian culture, all create a pressure for the museum to produce professionally-approved narratives of local culture and Ukrainian identity. Academics played an important role in shaping the overall narrative presentation of the permanent gallery. The exhibit was curated by Dagmar Rais of the Basilian Fathers Museum, with the text authored by an independent scholar Jars Balan in consultation with expert colleagues at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (cf. Balan 1997).

In their retelling of the immigration saga, the authors rely on means of illustrating the text that are conventional for many other ethnic museums — i.e., using ethnographic and historical documents. Ethnic garments once owned by local folk, pieces of folk art, household tools, replicas of architecture, old pictures and documents, and other artifacts, all contribute to the representation of the local lifeworld. Some artifacts are meant to represent the past and its hardships, others are meant to illustrate the progress local Ukrainians have made while in Canada.

The progress of settlers is first illustrated in terms of material achievements and wealth acquisition. The first installation that meets the visitor's eye, is a nearly life-size replica of a traditional, whitewashed, mud-plastered house. It represents, as the museum guides point out, the "old ways" (see figure 2).

---

[57] "*Kalyna* Country Eco Museum" is the network of local cultural, tourist and museum institutions and historical sites, all located in the Ukrainian bloc.

A different house replica, this time representing the 1920s house, is about the "new ways," the guides repeat to each touring group. It symbolizes the beginnings of an established life. New homes, Canadian style, were built to replace mud houses (guide tours, June 2000). Emphasis is put on the veranda in this structure which epitomizes the achieved economic success of early immigrants.[58]

These two installations, both about the local and the everyday, act as illustrations of the grand story of Ukrainian immigrants which is presented in text format on numerous boards displayed in the gallery. It is the story of the "exodus" from Eastern Europe to the Canadian frontier, as the exhibit presents it.

Other indicators of the Ukrainian settlers' successes in the new land are evoked later in the exhibit narrative. While the narrative starts with illustrations of the economic progress early settlers made in their successful adaptation to the new country, it concludes this story of successes with illustrations of cultural continuity and preservation of collective identity. I return to these narrative assurances of identity continuity below.

The hero

Who is the 'hero' of the story here? The text begins by portraying *peasant masses* undertaking "the exodus." The exhibit provides a broad historical overview on the beginnings of Ukrainian-Canadian culture and places at its centre a people, the peasantry from the Eastern parts of Austro-Hungary. Fate as the external factor to their lives governs the peasants' movement, and rules individual lives.

> In the 1880s poverty and overcrowding in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina drove a swelling tide of Ukrainian peasants to leave their ancestral villages for the new world. Initially drawn to the coal mines and industries of the Northeastern United States by the 1890s this enterprising element was beginning to venture further afield to Brazil and Canada's territories. ("Exodus from Eastern Europe")

The story of migration is exemplified through stories about real peoples' experiences. From introducing the collective hero of the Ukrainian immigration as the masses or *a people*, the narrative moves to two individuals who stood out from the masses, in the eyes of both researchers and the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Once identified as the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypow began frequenting the accounts of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience. Both become known as the agents of their own lives with good entrepreneurial skills and the personal determination to succeed. Under the title of "trail-blazers" they reappear in the local museum narrative, as in many other museum stories, as two exemplary pioneer immigrants who were concerned not only about their own well-being but about their compatriots as well.

---

[58] The veranda is an exact replica of the one built by the Shukalak family as a part of their new home. The house picture is shown in the albums accompanying the exhibit on family histories.

Later in the narrative, another individual enters the picture, this time someone occupying a different rung on the social ladder. The story line moves to a representative of the Galician intelligentsia, Josef Oleskow, who was instrumental in redirecting Ukrainian immigration from Brazil to Canada (Martynowych 1991: 61-4). With the story "The long good-bye" presenting a villager who writes from the new world to Vasyl Stefanyk, a writer and social activist in Western Ukraine at the end of the 19th century, the narrative returns to the 'peasant' hero.[59] In its conclusion, it moves back from presenting individual figures to summarizing the destiny and the moves of the collective hero of the immigrant. The gallery's explications point to the original pioneers' hardships in clearing the land for their future farms.

The protagonists in the exhibit, the masses, the entrepreneurial villager, and the intellectual, are representations of a people and portray this people as the collective hero of the exhibit narrative.

Representations of space and time

Every move of the hero takes place in a particular narratively-determined time and space. The life of the collective hero, those people swept up in the first wave of the emigration (1891-1914), unfolds in the narrative against the broad background of transnational and national history.

First, the life of the hero has been taking place in two distinct, if not opposable, geographies, one of the stagnant rural world of Eastern Europe, the other one of the Western Canadian frontier. The former represents the space "there" and the past of the hero, the latter the space "here" and the hero's present and future. In both cases, these geographies span vast territories and are larger than the spaces personally experienced by individuals, their native villages or regions. Both geographies thus represent the spaces of *peoples*.

Though the life of the hero spans several localities, it mainly unfolds in the space "here." The narrative starts from the space "there" which is defined vaguely, and perhaps negatively; a place of poverty and political inequalities. The narrative does not return to this image of "there" until much later in the story line. Occasionally it does revert to the space "there," but only when it is concretely concerned with describing the formation of the space of "here." References are made to things being done "like at home" (that is, "there"), or to objects of the household brought from the old world. In this exhibit, the space "there" is not recalled with the help of spatial metaphors of the domestic world as occurred in the book narrative, where both worlds were systematically juxtaposed through metaphors of lived environs. Instead, it is recalled in political terms. The narrative carefully avoids the word "Ukraine" in its references to the place of origin of those first immigrants for officially there was no country of Ukraine at the time of the first immigration.

---

[59] This correspondence later proved to be of great service to the writer Stefanyk in his writing on the emigration experience of Ukrainians.

Figure 3. Permanent Gallery "New Home in the West," Basilian Fathers Museum (exhibit curator Dagmar Rais).

The space "here" in this exhibit, however vast it is meant to be, is defined in local terms. The spatial organization of the displays, relying on local *Ukrainian* artifacts, and on maps of the area, contributes to such a definition. Not only is the space "here" about cultivated prairies, it is about prairies cultivated by Ukrainians who, as a large mural suggests, have also added some "Ukrainian detail" to this vast frontier territory of Western Canada. The mural depicts the local landscape in Ukrainian terms, with sunflowers in foreground[60] (figure 3). Such "detail" is also observable on the map of land ownership displayed in the exhibit where Ukrainian surnames appear in almost all land titles.

By the end of the exhibit, the narrative concludes with defining the new geography of this space "here," to which Mundare belongs, in broad terms. This is the vast geography of Ukrainian Canada, which overlaps with the geography of Canada:

> Today, Ukrainians as a group are as diverse as Canada itself. Ukrainian communities can be found from Sydney, Nova Scotia to Vancouver Island and each has been profoundly influenced by the characteristic geography and history of the country's different regions ("Reflections," "New Home in the West").

Similar to the space of *here* of Mundare locality, which has come to be defined in spatial terms as Ukrainian due to the Ukrainian presence (see figure 3 above), the narrative suggests that other localities in Canada may also be influenced by Ukrainians' presence.

Second, every move of the hero also takes place in a particular narrative time. The past, one may say, ruled the lives of people. This was progressive time, from a poor life in the "old country" to a better life in the new one. The time of more recent past of "here" also unfolds progressively. It is granted a history told in terms of achievements the collective hero made in the new land. The time of 'there' is of no relevance to the story, it is not filled with any narrative description or detail. It is not progressive, but static. The world of the hero thus unfolds only in the time and space of "here." Like the *Memories* narrative, the museum story treats the old world as preceding the new one. In this linear

[60] The sunflower is considered a national Ukrainian flower by Ukrainian Canadians.

history the old world is arrested in the past, and reappears mainly as a symbolic landscape. The old world enters the plot twice: once in the beginning of the narrative, and once at its end to underline progress in the new world.

The hero's agency and identity

The collective hero emerges in the narrative as a active figure. The hero has to exercise his/her own agency to overcome the difficulties imposed upon him/her by fate. The energetic Eleniak and Pylypow accomplished personal moves through history. It was also the personal initiative of Oleskow that eventually redirected mass migration of the peasants from Brazil to Canada, where they had much better prospects to succeed as farmers. In the reiteration of individuals' agency and contributions to the history of emigration, the private time of individuals' lives merged with the historical time of the mass migration. In narrative, they emerge not as private individuals with private lives, but as *public figures* who contribute to the well-being of their migrating compatriots, and thus become responsible for their history rather than passively responding to history as some "external" force.

While the hero of the narrative emerges as necessarily a *public* figure (loaded with responsibilities before the community), he (and here it is 'he') is still defined as a product of a particular history localized in the time and space thus becoming strongly associated with a particular generation. The generation metaphor is employed in the museum display when it comes to bridging the distance between the grand story and the local lifeworld. It also governs much of the museum work with the community, especially when it comes to relating its contents to the current lifeworld of the local community.

How does the *hero's identity* unfold in the exhibit's narrative? There are two kinds of identity at stake here. One is *personal identity*, a kind Bakhtin calls "human identity" (Bakhtin 1981:104-110). Human identity is about personal strength, character, perseverance, motivation, morality, and so on. The other kind of identity is the *cultural (or ethnic) collective identity* of the narrative's hero. In our case, this is the collective identity of the settlers who have been referred to as Ukrainians.

The historical experience of "exodus" and direct exposure to an unfamiliar culture, as well as life on the frontier all contribute to changes in the *personal identities* of individual immigrants. Their character is portrayed as having matured, and they emerged as frontier pioneers who later grow into a collectivity of hard working Canadian farmers.

As for the *collective identity* of early migrants and their successors, there is some ambivalence in how the narrative addresses this issue. First, it pays tribute to the view well-established in academia that those immigrants often did not see themselves as Ukrainians at the time of their immigration. It was not until the outbreak of World War I in Europe and Ukrainians' political bid for independence at that time that Ukrainians in Canada witnessed the politics of "Ukrainization" in Canada as much as in Ukraine (Swyripa 1991: 12). We are told, albeit only in one sentence, that while in Canada these Galicians, Austrians, and Ruthenians matured into a type of "national" collective, i.e. into an ethnic group with a distinct Ukrainian identity.

This was the aspect of the narrative edited by the academics. Yet by the end of the exhibit, a different stance of presentation takes over. The presentation of the Ukrainianness of the hero slides back into more traditional exclamations, similar to those in the book, on Ukrainian identity as ancient, as being several centuries old. Here is the concluding "Reflections" which presents this view of the antiquity of the collective identity of the locals:

> Having for centuries been subjected to heavy-handed attempts to eradicate their distinct identity, many Ukrainian immigrants desired full political, social, and economic integration but not cultural assimilation that would strip them of their heritage, that is why they worked to create a strong network of religious and secular institutions which would safeguard and perpetuate their Ukrainian identity. ("Reflections," "New Home in the West")

The hero is defined in terms of his or her participation in several mythologies. As the permanent exhibit is adjacent to temporary displays about local pioneer times, the collective hero of the museum narrative once again is redefined as the hero of both the Western Canadian frontier myth and the myth of the beginnings of Ukrainian culture in Canada. Early settlers are seen in the narrative as clearers of the land, ground breakers, and tamers of the wild Canadian prairies (the aboriginal population, obviously, did not count). The hero's collective identity is thus defined as that of a 'pioneer' and of a builder of Canadian nation. These *pioneer* and *nation builder* aspects of Ukrainian-Canadian public consciousness stand out in the museum narrative and contribute to the museum representations of local Ukrainianness:

> While some nations have been writing their chapters for centuries, this is not the case with the history of the Canadian West. One of the first chapters was written by the pioneer settlers who came at the end of the nineteenth century. For them this milestone served not so much as looking back as looking ahead, with visions and hopes for a better future for their children. But little did they know that they would encounter a double challenge of taming a wild undeveloped country and agricultural mechanization almost at the same time. Their visions and hopes are now a century of history. ("Prologue," exhibit "That's the way it was," May 2000).

Not looking back to *there/then/them*, but looking ahead to *here/future/us*, is pronounced as the current orientation of the Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity.

Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity emerges in the museum narrative as a culture with its *own, new territory*, where Ukrainian-Canadian culture has originated. To the collective hero of the museum narrative, a farmer and his family, acquiring farming land means rooting themselves in the new country not only metaphorically but in the most straightforward sense of this word. The land becomes a home land. As the "New Home in the West" suggests, "the home is where the hearth is." By participating in the nation-building of Canada, and by realizing themselves for the first time as Ukrainians, former Galicians and Bukovinians acquired a homeland. They are granted rights to the new territory on which the history of their collectivity and identity has been unfolding over the last hundred years. This territory is seen as a space where the Ukrainian (Canadian) identity

and the Ukrainian-Canadian myths of origin and descent began. Mundare happens to be in the very centre of this territory, at its beginning point.

In the museum narrative this idea of a grounded, territorialized ethnicity is conveyed with the help of spatial and temporal metaphors of the local lifeworld. Spatial metaphors point to the Ukrainianness of the local lifeworld (prairie sunflowers, mud houses, Ukrainian churches and Ukrainian national halls). The passage of time within the local lifeworld is established through references to economic progress made by these settlers (from the mud house to the new Canadian house), references to genealogical continuity (from original settlers to their descendants whose Ukrainian names continue to appear on local land ownership maps), and references to growing collective consciousness of becoming Ukrainians (from Austrians, Galicians, Bukovinians, Ruthenians, to Ukrainians).

Placing Mundare in the centre of many histories and myths

A major accomplishment of the Mundare museum permanent exhibit "New home in the West" is its successful promotion of the idea that Mundare has been located at the very core of two histories, the history of Western Canadian frontier, and the history of the beginnings of Ukrainian ethnicity in Canada. This has been accomplished by bridging the *general* and the *particular*. At the same time the museum has also been successful in defining the space of Mundare within these histories by relying on juxtapositions of "here" to "there."

Regarding the bridging of the *general* and the *particular*, the story of "New Home in the West" brings in local references to global processes of migration in the early twentieth century. The exhibit displays detailed profiles on at least sixteen Mundare area families who settled around what is known today as the Beaver Creek colony (the settlement which preceded today's Mundare). It is from these profiles that strong local individuals emerge as builders of both Canada and the Ukrainian-Canadian community. By showcasing them in the museum display the exhibit narrative assigns them much public weight, making them public representatives of not only this locality, but also of Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity and of builders of the Western Canadian frontier. Such understandings of locals' contribution to the histories of Ukrainians in Canada and to the history of Canada as an emerging nation itself are already shared by the locals of Mundare and contribute to their strong sense of pride in their past and their cultural heritage.

The juxtaposition of *here* to *there* places Mundare in the midst of the Ukrainian transnational space. This juxtaposition is employed in the story to define the position of the new world in terms of its relatedness to the old one. Unlike in the *Memories*, the text of the museum displays openly emphasizes the inseparability of local (and Canadian) Ukrainianness from the space 'there,' pointing out directly the relationship between Mundare Ukrainian identity (and Ukrainian-Canadian identity) and new geopolitical developments in Ukraine:

> With the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state in 1991, an exciting new chapter has began in the Ukrainian-Canadian experience. Although there are signs that

> assimilation is starting to severely erode the foundation of Ukrainian-Canadian Society, there is also evidence that growing interactions with Ukraine is helping to revitalize and redefine Ukrainian identity in Canada at the turn of the new millennium."
> ("Reflections," "New Home in the West")

Like the narrative of *Memories*, the exhibit narrative also represents and justifies "here" by means of defining "there" negatively. These justifications are achieved primarily through the utilization of abstract political terms, and not in terms of personal lived experience as was often the case in *Memories*. "Ukrainians sought to become equal partners in Canadian society, *in a way that had long been denied to them in their occupied homeland*" ("Reflections," "New Home in the West").

The story of the Basilians and Sisters

The museum presentation on the Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate represents a different narrative. In this narrative a different kind of a hero emerges, the missionary, whose life has been unfolding in a very different time and space than the life of the immigration story hero.[61] Much of the museum presentation on these two organizations relies on a narrative oscillation in time and space between global and local, past and present, here and there. Below I briefly outline how the space and time parameters of the Basilian experience are formulated in this story and how the hero's identity unfolds within these parameters. It is important to do, for as I will show in a moment, these narrative representations of time and space define the content of the Basilian myth of the beginning and attest to different experiences of rupture that Mundare has been experiencing in the twentieth century.

When it comes to narrative representations of *space* the Basilian story unfolds in the space that *encompasses* Mundare locality as well as the space of Ukraine, Europe, and even the world. All these domains, in which the Basilians assert their presence, form the narrative space in which the Order's history unfolds. The Basilian exhibit takes the viewer to other lands, within and outside Canada. To confirm in the viewer that the Basilians are an organization that transcends borders of numerous states, the museum display brings in stories on Ukrainian settlements in Brazil, Argentina, and Bosnia. Images of various Ukrainian Catholic churches scattered around Canada are brought together to contribute to the idea that the habitat of the Basilians is truly world-wide.

Narrative *time* in the Basilians' story spans centuries. The Basilians' story doesn't start with the beginnings of the local history. Since it is a Christian story, it pays its tribute to yet another moment of beginning in the Ukrainian culture, to the baptism of the country from whence the Basilians are said to come. The exhibit "Baptism of Ukraine," suggests in its title, that Ukraine as a national entity existed a thousand years ago. Textual

---

[61] Neither exhibit has been recently upgraded or edited by the curator or academics as was done with regard to the permanent gallery "New Home in the West" and therefore, they still present the perspective which the Basilians held with regard to local history and their organization's history of more than a decade ago.

explications and some artifacts from the 16-17th century gathered here support this claim. The museum story of Ukraine's baptism, as well as the fact that the Basilians own and display here such rarities as a copy of an Ostrih bible (1580),[62] and the original Beauplan map of Ukraine with its title *Ukraina* (1651), all support the Basilians' claim to history of Christianity in Ukraine.

In addition, unlike the permanent exhibit narrative, in which the Mundare locality is presented as being in the centre of various histories, the Basilian narrative presents Mundare as just another locality that this transnational organization came upon in their long journey. This testifies to the different experience of immigration as experienced by the Basilians and lay immigrants. While for lay immigrants, moving to Canada was a moment of most dramatic rupture, for the Basilian Order the experience of immigration did not mark discontinuity from the Order. Nevertheless, since this place did become a "New Home" — as the title of the exhibit suggests — it is given room in the story (and on the display). Numerous pictures offer visual confirmation of the Basilians and Sisters being settled in this locality; the monastery, the convent, the church, and the hospital.

At the same time, while the narrative *time* and *space* of the Basilian story spans centuries and unfolds on different continents, on local grounds it lacks its linear progressiveness. In both the Basilians' and the Sisters' story, time has collapsed into a non-linear and everlasting moment and its progress is not easily identifiable. Since the moment of settling down of both monastic communities in Mundare, history is presented as established and unchanging. Numerous pictures feature many a monk and a nun, without specifying the time the portrait was taken, or where the activity took place. Photographs are accompanied with the signs "pictures taken in various years." Presented next to each other, images of young Sisters, Brothers and Fathers all blend into a group portrait of an extended religious family. The museum narrative conveys the idea of a convincing *continuity* of bustling monastic communities in time and presents these communities as young and vibrant, with a healthy number enrolled, and still strongly affiliated with the locality.[63]

A discussion of the hero helps to clarify how the Basilian narrative promotes the idea of their continuity. In the story the main heroes are the missionaries; the Fathers and to a lesser degree the Sisters, presented as a spiritual family. This manner of representation once again testifies to the family-clan consciousness of this locality. Basilian fathers are presented as formed definitively at one point in time and since that moment constituting a strong organization of the Catholic Church. In the narrative we also witness a similar continuity of identity, that of the Ukrainian Catholic *brothers* and *sisters* as service men and women. This identity also remains the same throughout years and even centuries consistent with the mythic representation of the hero. Their unchanged identity is carried over from one historical time to another, from one locality to another. It is depicted as rooted in a thousand year history of Ukrainian Christianity and as originating in the lands

---

[62] Mundare owns one of only four existing copies of Ostrih Bible.

[63] In reality, neither the monastery nor the convent have young members. Both institutions remind one of facilities for the elderly, where aging nuns and monks live and work. Edmonton has for a long time been the centre for educating new members of both Orders.

of Ukraine. Thus, the Basilian narrative presents a different version of a genealogical continuity of this locality. Firstly, this genealogy is essentially symbolic. Secondly, it does not point to an experience of rupture as the narrative on immigration does. The Basilians, a Ukrainian Catholic transnational organization, did not experience ruptures in the same way as lay Mundare Ukrainians, neither in the 1900s, nor in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The juxtaposition of here to there is utilized in the Basilians' narrative as it was in the Mundare history book. The place of there, Ukraine, once again serves as a point of departure. But it is a different departure that it was for the lay narrative hero. Ukraine for the Basilians is the space where they came into this world as faithful Christians. In that sense it is also the place of the Basilian organization's origin, and its symbolic homeland.

The two dramatically different stories — one placing Mundare at the beginning of Ukrainian-Canadian history and into the midst of a Canadian frontier history, and another one locating it within the history of two Ukrainian transnational religious organizations — have something in common. The narrative representations of the local lifeworld in both cases rely heavily on comparisons of "*here* in the new world" to "*there* in the old country." All this speaks of some ambivalence in the relationship between local Ukrainianness and its ethnic homeland. Neither spatial nor temporal parameters of the world of "there," that is of the old country, have been spelled out in either narrative, while the temporal and spatial parameters of the world "here" were well marked. This attests to the distance that grew over the century between the realities of the worlds *here* and *there*. Yet, the "old country" remains nevertheless symbolically present in both narratives. This is most effectively ensured by abundant references to visual symbols of Ukrainianness, folk art of Ukraine, and imagery of Shevchenko.

Visual symbols of Ukrainianness

In communicating the Ukrainianness of this locality the museum employs generous amount of Ukrainian folk art. Utilizing Ukrainian folk artifacts in the museum narrative brings together these spaces of here/there. Artistic and aesthetic traditions of Mundare Ukrainianness are presented as inseparable from the place "there," which *in the context of art is finally given some territorial specificity.*

Folk art (visible symbols) is also used in the spatial organization of the museum space to symbolically bridge the two main narratives discussed above. In the hall where the immigration story meets the Basilians' and Sisters' story, the aesthetic dimension of local Ukrainianness is explicitly brought up for the first time. The display "Treasured Heritage" diverts the viewers' attention from the story of the beginnings as it unfolds in Canada. It turns the viewer to Ukraine, this time defining the space "there" in terms of its aesthetic traditions. In this part of display, presenting the folk art of Ukraine, the space of "there" takes on quite concrete shapes:

> Ukraine, like Canada, is a diverse land with many distinct regions that have been subjected to varied cultural influences during those thousands of years of human habitation. This is reflected in the regions of Ukrainian folk art which embrace different

> forms and styles associated with particular locales sometimes drawing on roots that extend back to prehistory. ("Treasured Heritage" explication)

But does this specifying of geography provides the content for the world of there'? Clearly, it does not. Territorial specificity remains to be only a *formal* specification, while Ukraine is still void of content in the museum narrative, a geographic symbol of the old country. Symbols overall, and the folk art specifically, are the main linking device between Ukrainian-Canadian community, local Ukrainianness, and the Ukrainianness of Ukraine. Folk artifacts are displayed at the point where the two narratives meet.

Surprisingly, in defining local Ukrainianness, and in parallel, Canadian Ukrainianness, the folk traditions of all Ukraine are displayed in the museum. This includes many areas beyond Western Ukraine from where immigrants came to Canada. The display includes colorful rugs from Western Ukraine, decorated Easter eggs locally made, wedding breads, famous woodcarvings from the Kosiv region (in the West), pottery, embroidery of both Western and Eastern Ukrainian styles, and even the loom-woven, so called "red towel," or *chervonyi rushnyk,* from Chernihivshchyna, in the northeastern corner of Ukraine.

Artifacts from many regions of Ukraine, like the latter one (from where, most likely, no one emigrated during the "formative years"), are all compactly displayed in this hall. The museum reflects upon these visual representations of Ukraine's folk art in terms of *historical* elements that now constitute Ukrainian-Canadian artistic legacy:

> ... With the growth of a broader national consciousness among the inhabitants of the new world, Ukrainian Canadians began to cultivate an interest in the creativity of the homeland's different ethnographic territories. That is why today's Ukrainian-Canadian culture is the blend of all the regional and historical elements that constitute the artistic legacy of Ukrainian lands ranging from the elaborate woodcarving characteristic of the Carpathian highlands to the high energy Hopak born of boundless steppes. (display text, "Treasured Heritage")

Remarkably, it is only in the context of folk art that the space "there" becomes defined as the "homeland" in very concrete geographic/physical terms such as "all Ukrainian lands," the "homeland's ethnographic territories," from "the Carpathian highlands to the boundless steppes."

I should mention another familiar symbol of Ukrainianness employed in the museum narrative, the figure of Taras Shevchenko. Though presentation of Shevchenko within the museum story may be seen as peripheral – that is, without directly contributing to the story's plot – the very fact that there is a special corner devoted to this national poet, artist, and social activist of the nineteenth century is emblematic of Ukrainianness representations in Canada, and world-wide. The spatial organization of Taras Shevchenko's display suggests this figure of a Ukrainian poet of the nineteenth century has been as much respected in this locality as anywhere else in the world where Ukrainians live. The poet's portrait is framed by the soft lines of a large intensely red towel in the same manner as highly cherished household icons were decorated in

traditional Ukrainian houses. Shevchenko's bust looks over open pages of his most important book *Kobzar*. His image is replicated through other numerous photos displayed here. The *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* is cited here to provide the authoritative reference to those who may not be familiar with the most celebrated Ukrainian poet of the nineteenth century. The entire display is sealed in glass to accentuate the value and importance of what is displayed.

Conclusions

The museum presents a different narrative on locality than the one offered by the local history book *Memories*. The two main narratives of the museum promote the idea that Mundare is not just a unique Ukrainian-Canadian community, but a crucial contributor, or even the point of origin of significant historical developments in the twentieth century, most notably for the Ukrainian-Canadian community and for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic monastic communities.

The museum story owes much to the possibilities afforded by modern reflexivity. The museum presentation of Mundare, inspired by Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian-Canadian, and academic subjectivities, has been organized in correlation to local practices of imagining Mundare at the centre of several important histories. The museum's narrative-in-progress increasingly relies on local understandings of the community's and locality's continuity, which are conceived in terms of generational and genealogical continuity.

Representations offered by the museum to visitors not only reiterate the facts of the local past, but reflect and contribute to the on-going mythologizing of Mundare's participation in several stories spelled out in the Mundare history book and discussed in the previous section. In the museum narrative this mythologization is accomplished by presenting the heroes of both stories as *public* figures with a strong sense of responsibility for the collective good of the Mundare community, the Ukrainian-Canadian community at large, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community, and Canadian society. This representation is achieved through depicting the heroes, the immigrant, the pioneer, and the Ukrainian Catholic missionary, all determined to succeed in the new homeland.

The ongoing museum story of the locality, subjected to the influences of the official Ukrainian Canadian discourse and to scrutiny by academics and religious clergy, pushes the local history book's project on defining Mundare as a Ukrainian town to new levels. The museum story firstly promotes the pioneer, Christian, and Ukrainian identities of its heroes, and only subordinately the locals' identities as farmers, while the book's narrative presented local identity as fundamentally rooted in the world of prairie farming. The link between the new home and the historical homeland remains ambivalent in the museum narrative, and is most comfortably expressed in symbolic terms.

2.4. On generations and family histories

This section continues examination of local representations of Mundare and its Ukrainianness. Mundare, having been subjected to the workings of modern reflexivity, witnessed other local projects of representation in which local identity, and often its

Ukrainianness, are spelled out. The "official" narratives of the local history book and the local museum do not represent the only claims to the locality. Individual residents have been making their own claims to local history, to the history of Ukrainian Canadians, and to Canadian history in general. These projects have been accomplished in accordance with local practices of imagining what is history, what the community's continuity consists of, and what Ukrainianness is.

Some of these personal projects have also been incorporated into the official museum story. In the preceding section of this chapter, I noted that the museum representation of the locality and its Ukrainianness increasingly involves locals' understandings of the community's and locality's continuity. The museum curator regularly places local "stories" produced by locals into the museum displays, and some exhibits rely almost exclusively on artifacts borrowed from community members. These "stories" include family histories, collections of photographs, videos, memorabilia, reminiscences about the past, and recollections about particular events and festivities. Local understandings of the community's identity, continuity, and culture comes to the foreground with these representations of the locality co-produced by lay members of the Mundare community.

In what follows I argue for the importance of *generation* and *kin* in local practices and representations of the locality and of its Ukrainian identity. These notions not only structure representations of the locality found in the community (in various texts, history book, community calendar,[64] and museum displays). They also structure much of the everyday discourse about locality and its involvement with the world. Notions of generation and kin point to the fact that the local lifeworld is indeed very much organized in accordance to Schutz' understanding of the realm of directly experienced reality, and the world of contemporaries, as well as the worlds of predecessors, and the world of successors. The last three worlds are not directly experienced but mediated, which is a necessary condition for directly experienced reality (Schutz 1967: 142-143). Similarly, in contemporary Mundare, I argue that the world of directly experienced social reality is not conceivable without the mediated experienced world of predecessors who lived in this locality and the projected world of the successors, which appear as legitimate and legitimating dimensions of the local lifeworld.

My discussion is organized as follows: I first consider the role that notions of *generation* and *kin* play in local discourse. I return once again to the local museum to see how the idea of *generation* affects presentation of the museum material to the community. Second, I turn to local family histories. I look at how family histories, intended for a narrow audiences, become inescapably *public* projects of representation. Family histories appearing to be "private projects" are also subject to principles of modern reflexivity which influence family historians to structure their narratives similarly to narratives of other conventional histories. Family histories have also been brought into the museum narrative. With their becoming increasingly public property, the notion of generation and kin acquires more public weight.

---

[64] In the 1990s, as a part of their fundraising effort Mundare Library started producing Mundare community calendar. Many local wedding anniversaries, birthdays, and historical dates are repeatedly marked on this calendar from year to year.

"Generation" metaphors

October 12, 1997. The Basilian Fathers Museum, after many months of preparation, launches its new permanent display, "New Home in the West." The event is conveniently scheduled for Sunday evening, to enable many guests to attend. The choice of Sunday evening also allows the organizers to bring in more solemnity into the world of secular. The evening liturgy for the museum is over, prayers are read, and blessings are given. The Bishop and the curator are joined by other guests representing local and provincial powers; the head of the Education and Admission Services from Edmonton's quarters of the Ukrainian Catholic church, the executive director of the Alberta Museum Association, and the mayor of Mundare.

Yet, these are not the only dignitaries invited to speak on the occasion. As indicated in the program of the event, speeches are delivered by representatives of generations. Three adults, representing the second, the third, the fourth generation, John Batiuk of Mundare, Clarence Siracky of Lamont, Beverly Homeniuk of Willingdon are here to contribute to the opening ceremony with their own recollections on the ways of life of their respective generations. Four children from the Siracky family representing the Fifth generation play a role at the symbolic opening of the display by ceremonially cutting the ribbon.

It is a commonplace among Ukrainian Canadians to talk of themselves in terms of their generation. The idea of "generations" is an important frame of reference through which the history of the Ukrainians on the Canadian prairies is presented in various discourses. But there is significant difference in how the notion of "generation" may be understood today versus how it operates in Ukrainian-Canadian discourse and in Mundare. Let me describe how the notion of generations has been undergoing changes in its meaning.

In pre-modern societies, marked by a continuity of tradition, generational differences are essentially a mode of time-reckoning. Edward Shils claims that *generation* is a distinct kinship cohort which sets the individual's life within a sequence of collective transitions (Shils 1981: 25, cited in Giddens 1991: 146). Collective here refers to a community that experiences its movement through history jointly. In times of modernity, however, the notion of "generation" began to indicate the shared historical experience of a society at large rather than a sequence of kinship orders of a local group. Anthony Giddens (1991: 146) notes that the concept of generation increasingly makes sense only against a backdrop of standardized linear time and larger historical developments. Thus we understand without explanation what is meant by the "sixties generation," the "me generation," "generation X," and so on. Another important point is relevant here. Giddens points out that while in traditional contexts the notions of generation carry strong connotations of *renewal* as each generation relives the modes of life of its predecessors, this is not the case in modern society. Renewal as such loses its meaning in the modern settings (Giddens 1991: 160).

In modern times, the term "generations" often refers to a group of people who matured in a distinct historical moment. With maturation, they become *generations* (of the sixties, of the war, and so on) with the distinct identity that traces back to the historical moment

they lived through during their formative years. Discussing generational identity Martin Conway suggests that this identity emerges during a unique critical period in late adolescence/early adulthood - a period that cannot be repeated later in life (Conway 1997: 43). The generations, in this context, have no reason to be ordered (the first, the second, and so on), for they are not linked to any "founding" moment in history considered as "the beginning."

In Mundare however, the notion of "generations" is understood differently and such understanding has much to do with the general phenomenon of ethnicity. When it comes to displaced ethnic groups, the meaning of "generation" acquires another dimension, a temporal one. The group, which may also be concerned for its preservation, becomes conscious of the fact that at some moment it *began*, that it has a 'beginning,' thus mythicizing the original moment of its history and elevating it to the primal event of the group's beginning, which Anthony Smith reminds us, secures the group's sense of continuity, or "survival" (1984, 1988, 1992: 437-440). From this event of origin the counting of the generations begins. In the context of Ukrainian-Canadian culture, the generation of pioneers' children became the first generation, their children the second, and so on. With significant economic and sociocultural changes on the frontier the generations also shared particular historical experiences; of immigrating and clearing the land, of growing up among peers whose parents came from the same lands of Galicia and Bukovina, of being Canadians of Ukrainian background, and so on. These different experiences contributed later to the formation of generational identities linked to each other through reference to the prime event of the group's beginnings. The group could be ethnically defined, or defined through kinship as in the case of "the family clan."

The permanent gallery "New Home in the West" captured in its displays this prime moment of the beginnings of the local culture of Mundare and of the entire Ukrainian-Canadian culture. Therefore it was more than relevant in the ceremony of the exhibit opening to give voice to each historical stage in the chain of generational experiences.

Thus operating with "generation" as a *temporal ordering category* helps the ethnic group to emphasize its continuity. This is consistent with Smith and Eugeen Roosens' observations that ethnicity has to be perceived by its members as *genealogically* unbroken (Roosens 1994: 86). During the opening ceremony, the continuity of history and identity was the subject of all the presentations. Not surprisingly, people who spoke on behalf of their generations (second, third, and the fourth) chose to emphasize in their speeches the continuity of their prairies' experience, which was not directly labeled as Ukrainian. Each generation had their own set of hardships or prime concerns to portray.

It is interesting to note that the representative of the second generation dwelled on his personal experiences in his speech, the representative of the third generation combined two modes of recollection, personal and general, while the representative of the fourth generation relied mostly on generalizations. The higher the number of the generation – the nearer to the present and further from the past – the less speakers dwelled on personal experiences and instead moved on to contemplate on the Ukrainian-Canadian

heritage in more abstract (and more generic or conventional) terms such as values, tradition, heritage, and so on.[65] "Our generation," Clarence Siracky said (fourth generation), "will need to not only revert to traditional culture but to accept it and instill the group family values on our children." And addressing the next, fifth, generation, Clarence exclaimed: "To Hailey, Joseph, Nolan, and Derek. You will need to understand your heritage and culture to be prepared for the future. I hope that we the fourth generation can prepare you for that future."[66]

As much as a generation's consciousness structures personal understandings, it also structures public discourse on the history of the locality and on local Ukrainianness. *Memories* was a good example of this. The museum follows the same pattern. The case of the artist Jeanette Shewchuk is exemplary here. Her paintings depicting the life of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate decorate the museum walls. The museum finds it important to justify the author's connection to the mythic moment of the beginnings: "Meet the artist... Jeanette is third generation Canadian Ukrainian born and raised in the Duck Mountain area of Manitoba. Her grandparents came to Canada in 1908 and settled in the wooded area at the base of the Duck Mountains" (museum display text).

'Kin' metaphors

Parallel to the "generations" metaphor the "family-clan" metaphor also structures public discourse. Belonging to a generation is connected with belonging to a particular family which identifies itself with the Beginning. Thus, if one finds oneself located within a pioneer family clan, one is automatically assigned one's generational niche as well as the symbolic genealogical rights to this locality and its Ukrainianness. A higher number of generations indicates a longer history of one's family in Canada. At the end of the twentieth century, a higher generational number assigned to a person reflects person's deeper roots in the history of the locality and the history of Ukrainian-Canadian culture.

Museum work with the community once again reflects a local workings of these notions. It has become a new museum policy to feature local families as a part of its various exhibits. When the "Fifth generation" cut the ribbon of the new display in 1997 they symbolically opened an exhibit about Ukrainian-Canadian history and about themselves. The photographs of the youngest members of the Siracky clan dressed up in Ukrainian dance costumes concluded the temporary exhibit on the Sirackys, whose family was chosen to represent the oldest Ukrainian clans in the area. An entire dossier has been developed by the museum together with family members on the oldest families in the area.[67] These multigenerational clans are given much room in the museum display. Their stories are repeatedly featured in the permanent gallery. Other stories exclusively

---

[65] I am grateful to Frances Swyripa who shared with me her observations about the event and particularly pointed out this aspect of presentations.

[66] Cited from the text of Mr. Siracky's presentation "Fourth Generation" presented on October 12, 1997 during the opening ceremony.

[67] Altogether there are 16 family stories. Several are written by family members and others by the curator.

celebrate the experiences of the first generation.[68] Another example of this new sensitivity to family claims to this locality can be found in the story "The Town of Mundare" which is told not just in terms of the town's organizations (a format typical of non-professional museums) but in terms of families that were in charge of these organizations. This could be interpreted as just a narrative twist, but it also indicates a new mode of representing local history. Those who grew up in the area will not find this analysis surprising, for such representations match people's understandings of how their world functions here. "Tell me about yourself," I once asked Auntie Katy, a farmer's wife in her seventies, during our interview about her travels to Ukraine. The answer took half an hour: in order for Auntie Katy to answer this question she needed to outline first the whole family tree within which she situates herself (Katy Tichon 03.01.01). As Clarence said in his presentation: "Our culture developed around the extended family with everyone working together to survive. Our generation will need to... revert to [it]."[69]

By employing the family-clan metaphor in organizing some of its newer displays, the museum reinforces it in the eyes of the community. Relying on it also attests to the new sensitivity the museum as a site of identity negotiation developed towards the concerns and aspirations of the community. Through the museum narrative, the histories of private families become fused with public history and emerge as public histories as well.

In addition, the family-clan metaphor of the local community finds its own development, quite an original one, in the museum narrative when the narrative moves on to the history of the Order of St. Basil the Great and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. Members of these orders are continuously referred to in local discourse as "the fathers" and "the sisters" obviously relating to notions of kin and family. The first display offers to the viewers in the museum attests to the complexities of the family-clan consciousness of this locality. It features pictures of prominent individuals who served these two organizations. Almost every picture depicts the monk or the nun surrounded by his or her own family members. Most of these families are from the area. The Lysak family photo depicts two rows of people. Among them are Brother Paul and Father Borys in the distinctive gowns of the Order. The picture was taken in 1947. On the picture of the Hawryluk family, Sister Naucratia is surrounded by her family (1957). Father Peter and Father Paul are shown in the surroundings of their Hewko family (1942), Father Basil Skubleny with his family (1936), Father Boniface with his family (1960), and others. The most obvious use of the generation and kin metaphors however, is local family histories.

Family histories

The question remains how such representations are elaborated in projects that are ostensibly not public. It is important to consider family histories for several reasons. First, their creation both utilizes and promotes local perspectives on the locality and its Ukrainianness conceived in terms of genealogy, generations, and kinship. This attests to

---

[68] Such as the story on the prominent local historian Michael Tomyn and his wife Georgina, a temporary exhibit titled "That's the way it was."

[69] Cited from the text of Clarence Siracky's presentation "Fourth Generation," October 12, 1997.

the constitution of the lifeworld in truly Schutzian terms. Local family histories not only commemorate predecessors and address successors, they depict the ongoing present as being a direct continuation of the world of the predecessors.

Second, the creation of most of the family histories that I consulted was stimulated by reasons similar to those that incited the writing of *Memories*. The book's creation was linked to the 75th anniversary of the province. Similarly, family histories were also created in response to anniversaries. The year 1991 marked the hundredth anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and many families celebrated the centennials of their own immigration soon thereafter.

Third, while they seem to be private projects, family histories prove to be inescapably public representations. It is true that these histories present perspectives held by individuals, rather than by organizations. But given the writers' situatedness within the broader sociocultural milieu, and given their understanding of the importance of the historical moment in which they were creating these histories, this assumption of individual perspective will not hold. Most family histories were written with a public audience in mind and relied on academic and public knowledge easily available in books, museums, and the Internet. Their final products reflected not just their *own* imaginations about their past, but include public representations of the past they claim as their own.

These family histories were also the products of particular generations who were willing to establish themselves within the sequence of larger historical contents. How was this accomplished? I make three points here. First, the awareness of 'larger' histories motivates authors to produce their projects in a particular historical moment. Many local family histories were created in response to the centennial celebrations of Ukrainian culture in Canada. In 1991, one of the oldest families in the Mundare area held their family reunion in the town. The gathering was attended by five generations of the descendants of one couple who emigrated to the area in the early twentieth century. A booklet especially prepared for the occasion explained why the reunion took place that particular year and why it was not celebrating a 'round date anniversary' (25th, 40th, or 50th, etc.) of the family's beginnings in Canada as it would normally do:

> As family descendants of Thomas and Mary Halas (nee Polischuk) you are invited to the Halas Family Reunion on Saturday, August 10th, 1991 at the Senior Citizen's Centre, Mundare, Alberta.
>
> During 1991-92 many celebrations and cultural events are being held to commemorate 100 years since the Ukrainian pioneers arrived to Canada and Alberta. Since our beginnings are from the Ukraine, we thought this year would be a good time to look at our heritage and get reacquainted with our growing family.
>
> Presently we stand at around 90 strong and we hope to retain the family bond which our forefathers developed. (*Thomas and Mary Halas* 1991)

Here is another example taken from the Weleshchuk's family reunion book. Its title *Ivan and Anna Weleshchuk: From Generation to Generation* continues with:

> ... A memento of the reunion of the descendants of Ivan and Anna Weleshchuk held in commemoration of the centennial of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, 1891/92 - 1991/92." (*Ivan and Anna Weleshchuk* 1992)

Second, the authors' awareness of the narrative style of other histories and of official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse shaped much of the format of their own family histories. The statements cited above, and many others, attest to what extent the "private" actions of individuals are influenced by their public consciousness of their extended community. The decision to organize the family reunion was directly linked to public culture and its celebrations.

The influence of Ukrainian-Canadian discourse on personal subjectivity of family historians does not end with choosing the date for the reunion in connection to the centennial of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse has its impact not only on what will be remembered and recollected by individuals, but importantly, on *how* things are recollected. In other words, it also structures the organization of individuals' memories when they relate these memories to others.

I came across Halas' reunion book in Mrs. Slepanki's home in Mundare when interviewing this elderly descendant of the Halas family about her past. When asked about her family past, Mrs. Slepanki, apart from consulting *Memories,* also pulled out her family reunion booklet. Much of her story was organized around what she could find in those two publications. Many other conversations I had with people in the area revealed this strong connection between the organization of personal and public narratives. This correlation was achieved through combining the private and public, and the personal and the general in stories. Personal stories often employ generalized, evaluative statements that reflect the official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse with regard to the beginnings of Ukrainian history in Canada. All this attests to the intricate crossings of personal and public subjectivities in which the representation of this local culture is created.

Third, family histories, to a greater degree than individual family stories in *Memories*, relied on paralleling the personal and the general. There is nothing new about simultaneous utilization of these two discursive modes. The mode of presenting generalized accounts of the past involves abstract reasoning, while the mode of personal recollecting is based on descriptions of specific events and personal experiences. As Pauline Greenhill observed in her work on English immigrants' narratives, generalization implies the relevance of an observed situation beyond a single incident where personal experience does not (Greenhill, 1994: 35-36).

In the Mundare area, writers' conscious desire to link their family histories to Ukrainian-Canadian history at large, as is widely available through official discourses and institutional representations, resulted in the blending together of accounts of personal experiences of the family and accounts of history at large. On occasion this generalization leads to tracing as far back as 'ancient times' (e.g., to Kyivan-Rus' times [tenth - eleventh century AD], or even to the Scythians of third century BC). This interplay of general and personal enables the writers to link their personal identities to that of Ukrainian-Canadian community at large and, with the Rus' and Scythian examples, to the Ukrainian people at

large. In this dynamic intersection of two kinds of representation, public and personal, they become inseparable. Both, feeding each other, serve today as narrative sites for producing local group identity for Mundare community.

Organization of family histories

A closer look at the organization of family histories, selected topics, and manner of presentation will help to identify organizing principles of these histories: what they emphasize and what their purpose is.

The title of the Eleniak family history book refers to the main metaphor around which all book narratives are built, *Eleniak history and family tree* (1991). The family-tree metaphor is the main organizing principle of presenting the most private histories of a family as well as an important correlate to the "generations" consciousness of the community. The family tree appears as a visual symbol as well, as on the front page of the Koroluk family history (1991). All books present family tree charts in which the tree begins with the so-called "first generation" of the family name bearer and his wife. Thus family trees, as a rule, do not go to the "old country" with the exception of the Moszczanski family whose tree is rooted in the fifteenth century (*Moszczanski Family* 1997). The Moszchanskis' ancestors had their family trees composed before coming to Canada, for those ancestors were not low class villagers, but belonged to educated elite circles of their time.

As discussed above, all family histories strive to locate their specific family stories within the larger histories of the national and global events of emigration from Eastern European to Canadian frontiers as well as in the history of Ukrainian ethnicity in this country. The following tables of contents exemplify this tendency in specific projects. I italicize topics that address issues larger than family ones:

— *Beginning of the Ukrainian emigration*
— *Historical factors leading to the Ukrainian emigration*
— *A Short history of the Ukrainian emigration in Canada*
— Eleniak heritage certificate of incorporation
— Forward acknowledgements
— Introduction
— Eleniak family tree
    — Wasyl, Ivan, Petro
— ... and generations
— Surnames associated with the Eleniak name
— *Basilian fathers in Canada*
— *Sisters servants of Mary Immaculate Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada*
— Show case:
— *Shumka dancers*
— *Basilian Fathers Museum*
— *Chronology of events*
— *Interesting books*
— Ivan and Petro landing in Canada
— Steps through time

— *Patriots pages* (*Eleniak History* 1991)

The Stetskos' family book (2000) offers over 60 pages on Ukrainian history in general. The book also includes a chapter with Ukrainian proverbs for another eight pages, written in Ukrainian by hand, and translated into English by print. Here is the list of entries from the table of contents related to Ukrainian Canadian history at large:

— Galician History [with material on Premyshl and Halychyna]
— Conditions of immigration
— Doctor Oleskiw
— Immigration by districts
— The development of parishes
— National Railway of Canada and etc.
(*Fame and despair* 2000).

The Romaniuk history features similar topics:

— Preface
— Romaniuk's family: the first hundred years in Canada
— Individual people families
— Other members of the Romaniuk family
— *The land they left behind*
— *National celebrations of Ukrainian centennial*
— Family reunion
— Memoirs of William Romaniuk
— The collection of John Romaniuk
(*From Generation to Generation* 1991)

However different in scope and depth of presentation, all family books begin with or at some point inevitably raise descriptions of the "old country." It is most often defined as Halychyna, or Galicia. Some provide maps (*Kolodychuk Family* 1999). Even short outlines of the place from where the immigrants came help to recreate in the narrative the world of "here" in contrastive terms of what was *not* "there," in the "old country." The chapter "The land they left behind" in the Romaniuk family history deals briefly with the history of Ukraine and Galicia. It also reprints a newspaper article about a trip to Nebyliv. One of the messages which the author of this article communicates is that many aspects of life have not changed in Nebyliv since the time the founders of the Canadian kin of the Romaniuks left for Canada (Alexander 1991). Pictures of traditional mud-plastered houses, horse carts, and cattle wandering around the main street of the village are also vivid illustrations that "here" is not what it is "there."

Family histories also create their own imagery of those who remained to live in this land that "we left behind." Similarly to *Memories* such imagery is created by way of contrast to "us here." The Romaniuk family offers its own vision of this transnational kinship that perseveres in the discourse despite the fact that they have not been in contact since the family left the old country:

> Ukrainians continued to suffer throughout World War Two and after, when Galicia was also brought under the Russian yolk [sic]. The enduring desire for Ukrainian

> independence was a struggling power that was trampled again and again, but it obviously never died because the 100th anniversary of first Ukrainians departure to Canada coincided with Ukraine's peaceful and very surprising emergence of its own nation in 1991-92 after centuries of subjugation and denial. In that century and in just a few generations, Ukrainian Canadians overcome poverty and discrimination to achieve their current status with membership in all the professions including government of this land. While they have become assimilated and many have forgotten the language and some of the customs that existed in their homeland, pride in the Ukrainian heritage is still strong. And fewer are happier than Ukrainian Canadians to know that their brothers in the "old country" have escaped from the tyranny of the USSR and now have the opportunities to enjoy the freedom we have known in Canada in the past century. *(From Generation to Generation*: 153).

The idea of brotherhood seems to be much easier when proclaimed on an abstract level of generalization. Yet this idea of symbolic kinship (brotherhood) is not translatable into the families' realities. With the exception of Moszczanski's kinship charts, the roots of the family trees do not extend further than the first Canadian generation of forefathers, and neither do they include those branches of kin that have been developing in the same period in "the land they left behind."

Such individual representations of kin and their relationship to the land "here" corresponds to locally-developed myths of origin, descent, and community beginning. While family histories were not typically produced as part of the official, institutionalized Ukrainian-Canadian culture, they relate the same subjectivity as presented in official and institutional discourse. This consistency of subjectivities regarding Ukrainian-Canadian history and the "old country" in family histories and the official Ukrainian-Canadian discourse reveal that the official story, its plot, and narrative techniques, were readily appropriated by the lay historians. At the same time, and the family histories contributed to the formation of the official story.

In its turn, in Mundare the museum has institutionalized these seemingly private stories by incorporating them into its own narrative fabric. Such institutional appropriation of personal memories impacts on the community's understanding of its individual stories. Their symbolic value certainly increases. Many regretted that their family didn't come up with their own history book as was required by the museum and that as a result their families lost their chance to be a part of a grand narrative on the local history. "You should go to the museum. They [the museum] have there now an exhibit about Mundare families," Mary Shelast tells me. "Our family also has quite a few pictures from the past. It is too bad that we did not make a book, you know. Otherwise we could have been also a part of this museum exhibit" (Mary Shelast 10.01.00).

In the remaining part of this section I discuss how the museum, by having organized an exhibit on the oldest Ukrainian families representing the locality, presents another narrative hero of this locality, the extended kin.

Museum presentation of family histories

In 2000 the museum featured a special exhibit "Centennial in Canada" that is exclusively devoted to the pioneer families in the area. As the curator shared: "We had three requirements for including families into the display: a family has to be a hundred years old, or older, they should have held a 100th family reunion and they should have their family history book published" (Dagmar Rais 06.11.00). And of course they should have been local. To have a book published was an especially important condition in the eyes of the curator. Out of 30 applications from pioneer families who wanted to be considered for this exhibit, only fourteen were selected by the museum to be included, for the others did not have their family histories published.[70]

An exhibit "Centennial in Canada" (2000-2001) commemorates local history in a familiar fashion, by sequencing it through juxtaposing "now" and "then," into ancestors and generations, into family beginnings and family centennials. Together with displayed books, the exhibit defines another hero of the story, the pioneer *family* and its subsequent generations of successors. The pioneer family is presented not only as a founder of a new land, but as a founder of a new kin, which has been unfolding through many generations. Stands with vertically organized posters line the walls of the conference room. Each stand bears the name of the family, a brief history, pictures of the founding ancestors and, if available, pictures of a family reunion. Under each stand one finds a family history book, produced most often on the occasion of the family's centennial in Canada.

Each picture of founders is accompanied by a brief account of the founding family and their subsequent generations of descendants. For the Koziaks, their account comes from a book, *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada* (Lazarenko 1970). Their centennial, like centennials of all the displayed families, was marked by a family reunion memorialized in the picture displayed adjacent. These bright enlarged photos normally depict a large gathering of a hundred people or more.

Such representations emphasize the continuity of one's kin, of Mundare's locality, and of the Ukrainian-Canadian community at large, despite stark contrasts between "now" and "then," and between various generations.

Pictures served best to illustrate the split of history into "now" and "then," and of the kin into generations. Typically, black and white pictures represent the 'first' generation of the founding family: a father with a wife, sometime with a child, as for example in the picture of the Koziaks taken in 1915. First settlers are photographed against the background of their newly-built houses (cf. Dobush display). In their later years, they or their children may be shown against later material acquisitions. The Weleshchuks' ancestors, Ivan and Anna, already looking aged, are sitting stiff on the bumper of their car with their hands laying on their laps (1933). The stiffness of their pose implies that they

---

[70] Those families that were included were: Romaniuk (1892-1992), Gulevych (1898-1998), Chmelyk (1891-1991), Uwyn (1898-1998), Moshchanski, Kolodychuk (1899-1999), Wojtas (1897-1997), Koroliuk (1898-1999), Koziak, Halas, Vitiuk, Weleshchuk (1891-1991), Dobush (1898-1998), Eleniak (1891-1991).

were not accustomed to being photographed. The car, a clear attribute of acquired wealth in Canada, is featured as the background on numerous pictures (cf. Halas display). Contemporary photos are in color. This is also a metaphoric representation of history itself. Lay historians refer to the early days, and especially to life in the old country, in black and white terms of severe hardships and highest joys. Confirmation comes from people' facial expressions. People from the black and white images are not smiling. Few people today attribute the expressions on ancestors' faces to the culture of photography of those days, when you were not expected to smile. The motivation for the seeming unhappiness is immediately assigned to the burden first immigrants had on their shoulders, including the oppression they experienced in the "old country" before coming to Canada. In contrast, the recent images are full of smiling individuals. This is probably also not often seen as due to a North American norm of "put on a smiling face," but is interpreted as a sign that life has indeed brought much happiness into individual lives.

Photographs also speak differently of places of "now" and "then." The past is seen as a place scarcely populated, where the singularity of a nuclear family was manifested, while the present brings large numbers of people sharing and ostensibly benefiting from extended family ties and networks. The present comes as a world of large ostensibly unified extended family and suggests the genealogical continuity of the locality and its Ukrainianness.

The imagery of the hero of these histories, and of this exhibit, emerges in how the books were written, and how the exhibit displayed its materials. It is *a collective hero, this time not the community, but the kin*: the extended family that links its own beginning to the beginning of the Ukrainian-Canadian community at large. The exhibit celebrates private histories which are presented as everlasting and even expanding in time and space from the moment of their conception. It celebrates the *genealogical* continuity of local culture. At these intersections of public and ostensibly private discourses the local myths of Mundare's belonging to both histories, Canadian frontier history and Ukrainian-Canadian history, continue to develop.

Conclusions

Notions of *generation* and *kin* govern representations of locality and its Ukrainian identity in Mundare community. I illustrated that these notions structure representations of locality as found in the history book, the museum, and family histories.

In addition, I showed that the concept of *generation* becomes both the means of sequencing the flow of time and the means of representing it (consider "pioneer times," "old times," "old-timers") in public discourses. In the minds of my informants, the public history of their locality inevitably, "naturally" appears as framed by the various generations.

Generation and *kin* structure local understandings of who are the masters of this locality and its history. And while it may appear that they embrace everyone in the locality,

generation and *kin* filter out those who did not make it to the history, that is, those who could not trace their roots back to pioneer times.

Generation and *kin*, as they are understood locally, structure the meanings of the local lifeworld in the sense of Alfred Schutz' phenomenological notion of lifeworld. According to Schutz, the lifeworld of an individual consists of different horizons of meaning. Such horizons of meaning bring the worlds of ancestors and descendants into the lived experience of an individual. Though not directly experienced, Schutz insists, these worlds are nevertheless essential constituents of one's lifeworld. Mundare citizens of Ukrainian background have created their own representation of their lifeworld in very similar terms, in which past generations of Ukrainians are very much present in public discourse.

I have also discussed public qualities of individual family histories. I have shown how their narrative organization reflects the close relationship between the Ukrainian-Canadian discourse and local discourses, both public and personal. Their very creation around centennial celebrations of Ukrainian Canadians in 1991-1992 speaks of the important role public Ukrainian-Canadian discourse plays in the locality.

The oldest Ukrainian families in the Mundare area, such as the Halas family, started their *personal* projects in family history writing. While personal family narratives of the past may be seen as secondary to public discourse on Ukrainian-Canadian history, here they have become constituent of Mundare public history and local Ukrainianness. Some families have organized themselves into historical societies; the descendants of Vasyl' Eleniak formed their own Eleniak Society in March of 1990. This society memorializes one of the men who has been mythicized as the trail-blazer of Ukrainian history in Canada.

Family histories are seen by the museum as the most important vehicles in promoting *local* culture, its Ukrainianness, and the pioneer past.[71] In addition, the utilization of family histories in the museum narrative on Ukrainian immigration to Canada promotes the idea of kinship-based continuity and attests to the rootedness of Ukrainianness in the local terrain.

---

[71] In June 2000, the Museum Curator appealed for Mundarites to donate old pictures and documents for the exhibit on local Ukrainian weddings and thanked those local families who took part in the museum displays throughout the years (June 25, 2000).

Chapter Three. Mundare Ukrainianness: Practiced

3.1. From representations to practice

In this chapter, the discussion shifts from examining narrative representations of local Ukrainianness to analysis of how local Ukrainianness is *practiced* today. The interest I held in visible symbols and other kinds of markers of local Ukrainianness led me to an analysis of these representations. My interest was sparked on the one hand by Giddens' thesis of modern reflexivity, an aspect of which claims that in modern times everyday knowledge comes to be more and more mediated by official representations, institutionalized discourses, and professional knowledge, all of which are increasingly available through developments in media and communications technologies. I found striking confirmation of this thesis empirically in the self-understandings of local Mundarites, who would refer me to the local history book or local museum, or who engaged in the production of such representations themselves. I concluded that representations could not be just 'a clue' to the inner dynamics of Mundare Ukrainianness; they are essential and crucial to its continuity.

On the other hand, I was left with the question of whether such symbols and markers of ethnicity fully accounted for the continuity of local Ukrainianness. Sharing conversations, meals, strolls, drives through the country, staying with different families, visiting local pubs, coffee stops, gas stations, participating in the local festivities and other interaction led me to question my original preoccupation with such symbolism to understand its use as local reference. In the midst of people's everyday life, in the thick of their common concerns and worries, interest in the symbolic manifestations of local Ukrainian identity often appeared to be irrelevant. At these points, the myths and stories were not clearly related to the lives of Mundarites. Instead, I found myself attempting to understand if and how the issue of Ukrainianness is relevant to their everyday life. I came to believe that if one is to account for Ukrainianness in this locality, one has to look into the core of people's *everyday practices*. Continuity as represented through myth and narrative is not incidental; but it is also not sufficient without being lived. It must be *practiced*. Local Ukrainianness, seen as one of the dimensions of local lifeworld, unfolds in practice, takes particular forms of intentional and unintentional activities, and has its own agency. It is of a *processual* nature, and therefore is coming into being every moment when practices take place. Over time, it gets expressed through sequences of events of various kinds, both dramatic and mundane, revealing patterns in peoples' actions and hinting at some ruling principles behind their actions.

To address the issue of Ukrainianness-in-practice I look at two kinds of practices, *commemorative* practices directed at memorializing local history and non-commemorative, *routine* practices of community maintenance. I look at two events that exemplify these practices. One is the creation of a local mural (a commemorative practice), while the other is cooking for a public event (a routine practice). These events are not only representative of two kinds of practice but are also what Sally Moore dubs "diagnostic events." On one hand, they speak of how current practices are organized by the existing social structures and the existing understandings of what is local Ukrainianness. On the other hand, they also speak of how current practices alter the

established rules and the established understandings. Moore suggests that ethnographers dealing with a historically defined present should discuss those events that are "diagnostic." These are "the events that reveal ongoing contests, competitions, conflicts, and the efforts to prevent, suppress and repress these" (Moore 1994: 730). From a first glance, the two events I have chosen to talk about do not appear particularly controversial, political, or full of conflict. As we look more carefully however, tensions are evident. Analyzed from the viewpoint of practice and agency, these events point out the temporality and at the same time continuity of local Ukrainian culture, its complex mix of order and non-order, of its structured and structuring nature. This complex mix of order, and non-order constitutes the vitality of local culture and its Ukrainianness. Therefore, they are also diagnostic events.

Any attempt to discuss the living practices of any community faces certain problems. The most significant of these problems arises from the fact that the realm of any practice involves a great deal of "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1966, Danziger 1990: 13-14). This term is related to concepts of "preconscious" or "habitual dispositions and mental structures" (Bourdieu 1990 [1980]: 52-53), and "knowledge of cultural schemas" (Sewell 1992: 7-12), "mentalities or preconceived notions formed in times of long-duree" (Braudel 1980: 25-52). What unites the whole variety of perspectives on the subject of tacit knowledge is understanding that it is both the product and the medium of long-term complex sociocultural processes. Thus, on one hand, tacit knowledge is seen as being responsible for long-lasting patterns of social life that persist in time. On the other hand, it is also seen as a product of these patterns that shape human practices. Thus, tacit knowing brings together structures and practices into complex sociocultural continuity and change. Any kind of knowing also suggests a knower and therefore individual agency. In other words, local practices of various kind are the projects of "knowledgeable" local agents (Giddens 1976: 161) who have been socialized into the local culture and who tacitly know how and what to do when it comes to living in the local lifeworld.

A related problem arises from the understanding that the actual happenings and events that constitute practice, are both a *particular* moment – "current history" (Moore 1987: 731) – and the realization of a *general* phenomenon (Sahlins 1985: vii). Each event is therefore related to a variety of processes unfolding simultaneously on different scales of time and space. One has "to note the difference between what might be called the "foreground preoccupation" of the actors or commentators on these events, and the background conditions informing their situation that figure much more prominently in the preoccupation of the historically minded ethnographer" (Moore 1987: 731).

Diagnostic events cannot be considered outside questions of human agency and the role such agency plays in constituting the event itself. Placing agency in the centre of the discussion requires a further comment with respect to practices. Firstly, there are practices mainly consisting in the effort and action of knowledgeable agents performed for some explicit purpose. The agents are explicitly self-conscious about the aim of the performance. In our case, such practices may be directed to some explicit promotion of people's ethnicity, identity, and their position in the community and the society in general. Decorating Easter eggs, Ukrainian dancing, singing Christmas carols, attending Ukrainian festivals, and so on, are all obvious examples of such practice. It is also this

type of practice that is undertaken when creating representations, such as monuments, museums, local history books, and family histories (the representations we examined *as representations* in the previous chapter). The example of explicit practice I explore in this chapter is the making of a commemorative mural.

Secondly, there are practices that are not so self-consciously explicit about their purpose, but are rather engaged in habitually and lead to expected outcomes. Such practices are not necessarily even contemplated as a type of action by the agents themselves. These types of practices are informed predominantly by *tacit* knowing. These practices are habitual acts, unreflective moves, unexamined happenings that appear to others as commonplace and related to their own life. The routine of cooking for communal events, is the example here.

In Mundare, practices of the first kind speak of how local people *explicitly* practice their Ukrainian identity and how they create representations of their culture. Practices of the second kind manifest the *tacit* content of people's unreflective acts, their unthematized performances, and unexamined involvements in their own lifeworld. Thus the distinction between commemorative and routine practices, which is essentially a sociological distinction, maps roughly onto the distinction between explicit and tacit, a distinction that emerges when practice is described with agency in mind. The correspondence is not perfect, but it will suffice; commemorative practices presuppose a predominance of explicit purpose on the part of the agent, whereas with routine practices the tacit dominates.

To understand and account for the continuity of Ukrainian aspects of local culture we need to look into both kinds of practices, and perhaps more seriously than usual into those practices that are habitual, familiar, and mundane, with no sense of novelty or sparkle of excitement. In these habitual practices; eating together, seeing each other regularly in the store or at the community gatherings, attending church services or playing bingo, people's experience of each other and of themselves unfolds. That communal sense of being both familiar and familial to each other (Bentley 1987), of being bound together within one lifeworld and its culture, is generated in the commonality of experience and of the tacit practices of habit. As Schutz describes it, it is the "directly experienced" world of one's fellow men.

When discussing the creation of the mural, I show how much public monuments to local culture depend today on the individual agency of knowledgeable agents. At the same time the produced representations, once completed, are regularly challenged by viewers. These challenges are themselves explicit practices, times of interpretation incited by the monument. Ethnographic analysis of the mural's creation and local commentary on it shows an ongoing contestation between various understandings of what constitutes Ukrainianness.

In the second ethnographic account I look at two days of cooking in preparation for a local wedding reception. Here I discuss local food practices and specifically how familiar practices of community cooking both establish and challenge existing social structures. These implications for the social structure are negotiated tacitly. The focal point of my analysis here is not the explicit purpose of the cooking-as-practice – which is clear enough – but the tacit workings at play that structure the obviousness of the routine.

Through both ethnographic accounts I aim to show that local events and local commentary on them are necessary avenues to explore if one is to account for the vitality of local Ukrainianness. They reveal that local Ukrainianness is *vital*, and not exclusively confined to representations. A full account of local Ukrainianness cannot therefore remain solely at the level of representations, but must also address local practices, for local Ukrainianness continues to unfold in this community through practice. However, both accounts of local practices confirm a central implication of the analyses of representation carried out above: that Mundare Ukrainianness exists in an ambivalent relationship *vis-à-vis* Ukraine. While commemorative local practices producing public representations of local Ukrainianness make it appear related to Ukraine through symbols of the "old country," other routine everyday practices show local Ukrainianness as a truly local phenomenon. Three points shall be made here.

First, both ethnographic accounts address the question of the vitality of local Ukrainianness. Whereas a central question raised in analyzing representation concerned continuity, the analysis of practice raises the issue of vitality.

Second, the mural's creation and community cooking are only two sites of many possible sites where this could be observed.

Third I claim that to account for the vitality of local Ukrainianness, this Ukrainianness should be seen as an ongoing process of negotiation of meanings and interpretations in which individual agency plays an important role. With every act undertaken by the locals that counts as a community affair, local Ukrainianness is questioned, challenged, negotiated, and risked, and this is how it comes into being. Through interaction and dialogue, it is shaped over and over again.

As diagnostic events, the creation of the mural and communal cooking demonstrate how local Ukrainianness comes into being in practice, and rely on individual agency. While both commemorative and routine practices can appear as the result of collective action and public knowledge, they owe much to the individual agency of those who plot out and enact them. Individual agency on one hand relies on and acts in accordance to *local conventions and prescribed social structures*. Agents' actions therefore exemplify how local social structures continue to organize the local lifeworld. Yet, on the other hand, agents' actions always have the subversive potential to alter existing structures. For example, in the case of the first ethnographic study, the mural offered to locals yet *another* interpretation of their locality. This particular interpretation introduced locals to a new picture of Mundare Ukrainianness while reviving some forgotten symbols of its past. But new interpretations form *new* understandings of what local Ukrainianness is and this, in turn, impacts upon established conventions. Thus, individual agency as informed by the social structures and conventions challenges those self-same structures and conventions through the very act of reproducing them.

To support this claim, I discuss in detail how the creation of the mural took place. I also bring in the voices of those who were involved in its creation. Roman Warawa, the initiator and the director of the project, together with Elsie Warawa, shared how the project came into being. I want Roman's and Elsie's voices to speak on their own at some points, rather than be subordinated to mine. Our opinions are informed by different knowledges, and marked by different kinds of reflexivity. My efforts to represent their

project in an academically coherent fashion should not overshadow their vision and understandings of their own agency, which have to be acknowledged as in no way subordinate to my own understanding of the issues.

Parallel to their story runs my analysis of the structural composition of the mural, its individual pieces, and what message they communicate to the viewer. The mural's creation points to an ongoing ordering and re-ordering of local knowledge on what local Ukrainianness is about. My interpretation aims to demonstrate how local practices and local agency push the project of local Ukrainianness ahead; how local practices reveal its *processual* nature; and how they point out instability in the meaning of public symbols. I deal with questions of how the mural's creation took place in the context of many histories, how it emerged from an interplay of ethnicity and power, individual agency and collective identity, and local and global processes.

3.2. The Mundare Mural: collective history, individual agency.

On a windy summer day in August 2000, a hundred people gathered in the town centre to participate in the unveiling ceremony of a set of paintings devoted to the Ukrainian history of the area. Preparations for the ceremony had received coverage from the local newspaper *The Vegreville Observer* (August 1, 2000). The set of nine paintings was displayed on one of the walls of the local National Hall. The ceremony was opened by a performance of the national anthem of Canada. A word of welcome by the deputy mayor was the first in a series of speeches and performances. The National hall president and the mural project coordinator spoke on the history and the importance of the project. A Ukrainian dancer performed a Welcome, or *previt* [sic]. The Mundare choir also contributed to the artistic program. As the paintings were unveiled, speeches were delivered by a local priest, a teacher, and other members of the Mundare community explaining the meaning of each individual painting. The paintings were then blessed by the local Ukrainian Catholic priest. Two more speeches were delivered by representatives of non-local authorities: a provincial minister of infrastructure, and by the artist. The two-hour opening ceremony was followed by a banquet organized by the hall and attended by approximately two hundred people. Following the ceremony, there was a report in a local newspaper (*The Vegreville Observer*, August 25, 2000).

A project commemorating local Ukrainianness had been accomplished. New visible symbols of local Ukrainianness had been added to the local public space. The mural joined the family of other spatial markers of Ukrainianness that define this local lifeworld in Ukrainian terms: the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Basilian Fathers Ukrainian Museum, the Ukrainian National Hall, Father Filas Home (a senior citizens' home named after one of the first Ukrainian Basilian fathers who came from Ukraine), Kryzanowsky villa (senior citizens' apartments named after another influential Ukrainian Basilian priest), the Strilchuk residency (self-contained units for the seniors, named after the first Ukrainian doctor serving the town), Sawchuk street (the main access to the town, named after a Ukrainian landowner and active community member), *Ukraina* park (this transliteration from Ukrainian continually inspires a variety of English pronunciations), and Stawnichy Meat Processing (known for its Ukrainian home-made style sausage). The

sites listed above, all bearing Ukrainian names, each commemorate a chapter in the town's Ukrainian history. Some talk of its ongoing history as well (such as Stawnichy's business).[72]

To those who lived through Mundare history the mural evokes many images and stories of bygone years relying on both secular and religious ideologies. The *Ukrainian* history of this community is evoked and given its story in the form of the wall paintings.

Unfortunately, I missed a whole year of preparation for the mural project, while I was away from the field. Yet, there was an unexpected positive outcome to my absence. The absence helped me see how, even in the near future, it would be easy to interpret the appearance of this monument in terms of collective practices of commemoration. In time, the presence of the mural will likely be attributed to the continuity or even revival of Ukrainian culture in the locality of Mundare. Eventually, the mural will likely be interpreted as evidence of a long-term or structural continuity of Ukrainian culture in Canada. The mural can be said to express the structural continuity of Ukrainian culture in this locality. The actual longevity and relative permanence of the imagery of the mural and its visible symbolism of Ukrainian culture, will suggest to the otherwise uninformed visitor that there is an equally long term, active participation in the meanings of these symbols by the community. But to locals, what does this mural mean?

When approached ethnographically, the mural project presents itself in a more complex light. It reveals how much of the produced representation may depend on neither a communal consensus nor some collective agency, but on the agency of individuals, even of a single individual. At the same time, much of the individual's agency is informed by social conventions and public subjectivity. When local commentary is taken into consideration, the mural project also reveals that some symbols employed on the paintings were not familiar, but actually unknown to both the creator of the mural and to the community members.

In conducting an ethnographic study of the mural's creation the processual nature of this local event can come to the foreground. The ethnographer has the possibility to see things from the inside of an unfolding process. She is given a chance to see how such seemingly collective projects are accomplished in practice and how they are interpreted locally. In performing the ethnographic study, she is also given the possibility to see how local small-scale events are linked to larger-scale sociocultural phenomena.[73]

Exploring the process of the mural creation demonstrates how difficult, in fact how impossible it is to reduce the mural's creation to the question of an "order" of local Ukrainianness. Over the course of my ethnographic work local Ukrainianness never

---

[72] Some spatial markers of local Ukrainianness are typical for many other localities in the country where Ukrainians have originally settled. Many other 'Ukrainian' towns in Alberta have Ukrainian National Halls (mostly known as simply National halls), Ukrainian churches, in which the word Ukrainian will be present in the official name of the local church. In Mundare's case it is the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Sts. Peter and Paul.

[73] Geertz' description of his participation in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight" (1973: 412-453) has become a classic in the anthropological field, not only for his description of the processual nature of the local event, but in his further extension of the cockfight event to serve as a paradigm for Balinese culture in general.

presented itself as something finally ordered. Even local narrative do not succeed in producing local Ukrainianness as *ordered*. Therefore, I understand possible ways of ordering an ethnographic event as subordinate to following its processual nature. I am grateful for Sally Moore's observation that "lesser presence of order" in the explanations of social phenomena in writings of time-oriented ethnographer is due not to some post-structuralist paradigmatic failure, but to the "complex mix or order, antiorder and nonorder" that characterizes any lived culture (Moore 1987: 730).

In the remaining part of this section my discussion unfolds on two planes. On one level it deals with the composition of the mural and its created symbolism. On a second level I address the question why the mural creators chose to create the mural in the way they did, result in what now appears on the walls of the Ukrainian National Hall in Mundare.

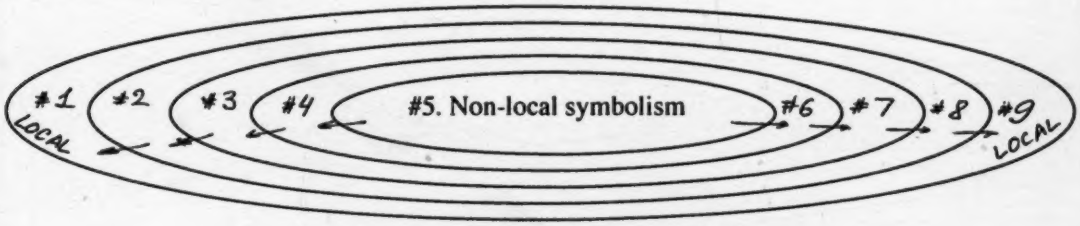
Composition of the mural

The mural's composition is talked about in linear terms in Mundare and the area. In conversations, newspaper accounts, and my interviews with locals, these paintings are invariably discussed in order "from left to right," in the same order as they are presented on the program of the unveiling ceremony. Here is the program's order:

#1 Scene of Sts. Peter and Paul Church taken in 1917
#2 Canadian Coat of Arms with Names of Area Enlisted Soldiers
#3 Male Ukrainian Dancer
#4 Christmas Caroling Scene
#5 Ukrainian Poets
#6 Easter basket
#7 Female Ukrainian dancer
#8 Sheaf of Grain (Diduch)
#9 Harvest scene

Local commentary reveals nothing about the organizing principles of the mural composition. These principles may not be obvious but they are nevertheless present. If one looks at this row of paintings from a distance the composition presents itself as organized not in linear terms, from left to right, but as centred around painting #5, labeled in the program and in the media as "Ukrainian poets" (*Vegreville Observer*, August 1, 2000). It is in radiating away from the centre, towards both left and right from the central position, that an alternate organization presents itself. From this point of view the mural offers a different vision. The mural can be seen as bilaterally symmetrical group of paintings with regard to the central piece. Perhaps more importantly, this view reveals a gradual shift, from painting to painting, from 'non-local' symbolism (central piece), to clearly 'local' symbolism of the large images at both ends of the wall. The following scheme illustrates my claim to these principles.

Figure 4. **Thematic circles of the mural composition.**



From non-local (transnational) symbolism
in the center of composition to local symbolism
on the outside paintings.

— ***Compositional centre***

Elsie (looks at the central piece, triptych) And that's Shevchenko ... There were [others] ... The woman in the painting ... she was supposed to be [of] one of their daughters. Remember *[to Roman]* who was telling this all to us?

Roman. Barbara.

E. Barbara?

R. Yeah.

N.S. You mean the woman on the painting?

E. Yeah. That's supposed to be [...] the painting didn't her any good, but she was supposed to have been very young woman and a singer!

R. Yeah, see her face on the mural looks like she is an older woman, but *[he points to the photocopied image of the triptych]* and this was a young girl!
A lot of people don't know these things, but for those that do know, you know... this [painting] matters.

N. Do you think people would recognize all these people on the painting? I heard people recognizing Shevchenko.

R. Well, he was the most popular of a ...

E. ... (of) the three..

R. ... (of) the ... artists.

E. Shevchenko.

R. Shevchenko. See, Franko, we've heard of all of them But, I, see, [about] this Drohmanovych [sic], I actually knew very ... [little]. I didn't think of him at all.

E. But you know, the Shevchenko work and everything [...] we knew a little bit of his work, but that as far as it goes.

R. Yeah, well, we recited his poems ...

Figure 5. Central painting (#5).

E. ... we sang his songs ...
R. ... we sang his songs.
E ... "Dumy moi" ...
R. ... "Dumy moi" [overlapping each other] ...

At first glance it appeared to me that the painting full of lofty symbols of Ukrainian national idealism was given central position in composition. The central piece (painting # 5, figure 5 above) depicts three prominent figures in Ukraine's history, Taras Shevchenko (1814 - 1861),[74] Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895),[75] and Ivan Franko (1856-1916).[76] This piece holds the mural composition together.

All three individuals have for a long time been symbols of Ukrainian national culture shared world-wide. As symbols they have been appropriated and re-appropriated by various Ukrainian ideologies at different historical conjunctures many times. While Shevchenko had already become a mythic figure for native Ukrainians at the turn of the twentieth century, the figures of Drahomanov and Franko were near contemporaries of early immigrants leaving for Canada between 1890 and 1910. The pro-national movement in Western Ukraine was strong and on the rise at the turn of the twentieth century (Himka 1988b). Known for their efforts in building the Ukrainian nation or economy, all three figures were especially celebrated in Ukrainian lands (including Ukrainians in Canada) at that time.

Apart from the three prominent male Ukrainians, a young woman with long hair, wearing only an embroidered Ukrainian shirt (also a national symbol) is depicted underneath the triptych, reclining casually and reading a book. Whether the underdressed reclining female with unmade hair is intended to symbolize Ukraine in need of enlightenment by the male intellectuals depicted above, or she represents the people, [*narod*], who need to be emancipated, is to be interpreted by the viewer according to her own wish. Some suggest that the reclining figure might be Lesia Ukrainka (another prominent figure in Ukrainian literature and democratic movement, who was also quickly elevated to the podium of national heroes).[77] Others speak of Olena Pchilka, another female writer and

---

[74] Taras Shevchenko, born and raised as a serf in Central Ukraine, in tsarist Russia. His freedom was bought by his fellow artists while he was studying art in St. Petersburg. He became an artist, writer and poet who wrote in Ukrainian. During his lifetime he was notorious for his anti-imperial work. He was persecuted by the tsarist regime and spent much of his adult life in exile in Russian Asia. Ever since, he has been the mythic father of the Ukrainian nation and the icon of Ukrainian national movements.

[75] Mykhailo Drahomanov, a socialist, political activist, and economist, became well known, especially in Western Ukraine, for his ideas on how to organize Ukraine's economy based on agrarian *hromadas* (communes). His ideas spread widely throughout Western Ukraine and the cooperative movement became one of a notable number of peculiarly Ukrainian institutions.

[76] Ivan Franko, born and raised in Western Ukraine, is another national icon of Ukrainians. A prolific writer in the realist tradition, poet, and socialist thinker, Franko modeled himself as 'the people's writer' supporting the idea of social equality and Ukrainian independence.

[77] Such possible interpretations were given to me by my fellow Ukrainianists. Other interpretations suggest that the female figure represents the artists' muse. This could be related to the fact that while Lesia Ukrainka is a well-known figure in the history of Ukraine, she is somewhat less well-known among those whose concerns for the national Ukrainian culture are minor. Shevchenko will be recollected the most; also, possibly, Franko.

activist, and sister of Drahomanov. Locals tend to see in her "another Ukrainian poet, like the other three."

Returning to the community after a year of absence I was struck by the appearance in Mundare of what I first thought was an explicit manifestation of Ukrainian pro-nationalist mentality. I found this striking for several reasons. For someone from Ukraine who experienced the rebirth of the national movement in Ukraine in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the figures of Shevchenko, Franko, and Drahomanov were conventional. For someone familiar with the multiplicity of ideologies among early Ukrainian settlers in Canada these names also recall the nationalist and socialist movement of Ukrainians in Canada. These movements generated Canada-wide debates on the fate of the Ukrainian culture in Ukraine and in Canada, Ukrainian "Enlightenment" societies, and of socialist organizations.[78] However, given my exposure to the Mundare community from 1997 to 2000, it was clear that Mundare Ukrainians as a group do not directly participate in the official agendas of the Ukrainian-Canadian culture as they used to do decades ago.[79] Consequently, the revived symbolism – and causes – of politics in the form of the central piece of the mural was unexpected. I was taken aback to come upon these images from the past now resurrected in the town's public space.

When I learned that the central painting is not itself an original composition but a copy of yet another painting, I gained a better understanding of why they re-appeared unedited in Mundare in 2000. There is an interesting story behind the choice of central painting #5. The story reveals the interactive nature of local meanings and values that emerge from the intersections of the historical and the contingent, of past and present, of the locality and the outside world. It is reveals the interconnectedness of discourses of local and trans-local nature, of grassroots and institutionalized discourses. In this particular case, this story sheds light on how contemporary "Ukrainian" values in a locality such as Mundare are reinvented through being 'resurrected' from history with the help of outside discourses. These local values may be informed by professional strangers — "academics in the field." It should be noted that such interaction between locals and academics has its own long history. Academics have been making an impact on the locality of Mundare starting from the nineteen-fifties when they began researching various aspects of Ukrainian culture in the area.[80] Quite often I would be told by my informants that they had already been interviewed by other researchers on different subjects.

---

[78] For detailed accounts of the organizational history see Makuch (1988), Martynowych (1991).

[79] With the possible exception of Ukrainian Catholic organizations such as the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL). The UCWL is part of the Ukrainian Catholic network, and therefore its involvement with the Ukrainian community at large is organized via this network. This work is primarily fund-raising for a number of causes, which are rarely political. Yet even the work of the UCWL is mostly oriented towards the locality, rather than to the outside.

[80] Much of the research in the area was done by Robert Klymasz, the most systematic writer on Ukrainian folklore in Canada in the 1960s (1961, 1969, 1973, 1992). In the 1960s and 1970s researchers began collecting data and artifacts for the Ukrainian Heritage Village, an open-air museum 30 km west of Mundare. Since the eighties, students from the University of Alberta have been exploring Ukrainian rural areas like Mundare for their projects. Reports on these projects and field data are now preserved in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives, University of Alberta.

R. Then I guess this Barb must have told you all about this [picture]. Barb [Hergot] she kept phoning me and asked me whether I was aware of this picture. I really was not aware of that picture! But I started phoning people and .... She gave me a picture, she showed me that picture and I looked at and looked at it. She was very interested in [..] how that picture ended up in the archives. And there was signature there, and it was very hard to find out who had given it up.... She probably told you about it.

N. Yes, she has told me that she found this picture in the archives in Edmonton and that it happens to be from Mundare, from the National Hall.

R. Yes, it was saved from the fire, when the hall was burning.

. . . . . .

N. So, would it be correct to say that you have learned about this central piece from Barbara [Hergot]?

R. Right.

When the president of the National hall began nurturing plans for the mural composition it coincided with his being interviewed by a Vegreville resident and a University of Alberta student enrolled in one of the courses offered by the Ukrainian Folklore program there. Barbara Hergot came to Roman Warawa to talk about a particular print her family found in the attic of her in-laws' farm house. She approached him in the first place because one of the copies of this print was once displayed in the Mundare National Hall before the latter burned down in 1925. Fascinated by her own discovery of how important the recovered print was for the local Ukrainian communities in their early days (other copies were kept in many private homes and national halls at the time) she shared her excitement with Roman.[81] Since Roman, like many other Mundare citizens whom I approached, had never heard of or seen the image before Barbara's visit, her research suddenly took a new twist. It introduced the president to the realization that the image had formerly enjoyed some degree of popularity among local Ukrainians at the time, but also to the fact that others, such as academics and researchers, were highly interested in what once used to be a popular commonplace of the Mundare Ukrainian public space. Barbara's research added new value to the old, forgotten print. This was especially true because the Mundare copy of this print survived the fire and eventually ended up in the Ukrainian-Canadian Archive and Museum of Alberta![82]

E. I come from Vegreville, and, actually [*other talk interferes here*] ... And that picture [central piece] was in [...] See, I was an Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox. And that picture was in that hall, in that hall, in Vegreville, but it wasn't in this one [*in Mundare*]... Well we used to sing, when we had concerts and everything, so, you know, it is....

N. So, you do remember this painting on the wall?

---

[81] Personal communication, Barbara Hergot, Vegreville, December 2, 2000.

[82] For the enlivening discussion of Barbara Hergot's search see her unpublished paper "Obraz - Portrait of Three." The paper may be accessed through the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

E. That [painting] I remember, because we had to sing *shche ne vmerla Ukraiina* ["Ukraine hasn't died yet"][83] and, [*to herself*] what is it? "*Oy, Ukraiino,* you had to start yourself" or whatever it was [*laughs*].

R. See there are some younger people interested in things like that, but, uh, very very few, that's beginning to be a forgotten thing, you know.

The journey of the image is a complicated story of its own. Originally published in Detroit, between 1924 (the year of the painting's execution) and 1925 (the year when its print was rescued from the fire in Mundare) it made its way rapidly to Western Canada, possibly as a picture in a wall calendar as Hergot and her informants suggested. It became popular among Ukrainians in the area, many of whom were continuously arriving as the second immigration wave from Ukraine, bringing with them fresh memories of the Ukrainian national revival. It had been in the town for at most a year until it disappeared from the local horizon with the fire. Despite this short-lived presence in the local life back in the 1920s and the fact that this image was virtually forgotten until Barbara's explorations stirred some memories and emotions, Roman chose it as a central piece for the mural composition.

With this the painting was given a new lease on life, this time as a local symbol of the lasting Ukrainian presence in this town. Despite the fact that its seemingly old-country symbolism was not easily deciphered by the locals, it was utilized as a testament to the *local* Ukrainian history and culture. Its explicit references to the ideologies of 'high' Ukrainian culture and transnational deterritorialized Ukrainianness reserved it a central location within the mural composition. The painting became the link between the past and today, between local and transnational, between "diasporic" and "native."

Let me return to the general composition of the wall paintings. In a similar manner, other wall paintings also drew on cultural symbols of Ukrainianness shared world-wide. Yet they have become appropriated as "local products."

Second thematic circle

N. What about the piece on Christmas caroling? How did you come up with the idea?

R. I had to think what to do, that it should be [...] something to do with our culture and our heritage, what to be the most important, you know. And I kept thinking what would be the most appropriate and this is how I came about these murals, particularly ones [with Christmas and Easter]. Like, for the Ukrainian people and for [...], Christmas and Easter are very important. And, I thought it would be nice to [have these paintings]...

. . . . . .

R. There was a postcard, Christmas postcard from the museum.

---

[83] First line of the Ukraine's national anthem, which was originally introduced during the first Ukrainian people's republic.

Figure 6. Paintings #4 and #6

To the left and right of the central piece two paintings constituting the second thematic circle deal with two religious holidays Ukrainians pride themselves on, Christmas and Easter. Thus, in terms of composition, the trans-local Ukrainian symbolism of religious origin of paintings #4 and #6 echoes the trans-local symbolism of Ukrainian nationalism of the central painting. On one side, Ukrainian carolers are shown with their Christmas Star while singing *koliadky* (carols). On the other side, the Easter basket displays its traditional content with obligatory Easter eggs (*pysanky*), Easter bread (*pasky*), sausage, and ham.

Both paintings offer trans-local Ukrainian imagery which may be found on many Ukrainian postcards issued for the occasion. In fact, it was precisely these commercial postcards, printed in US print shops, that provided the mural committee with the concrete imagery to be depicted on the walls. The postcards, borrowed from some community members' private collections, were enlarged and copied, serving as models for the wall paintings.

— ***Third thematic circle***

R. And here again, our dancers, you know, it is our culture! So, I thought it would be nice to have a picture of Ukrainian dancer, a boy and a girl.

. . . . . .

R. The pictures of dancers [...] I thought it would be nice to go into youth, you know, to have younger people there as dancers. And I tried to get somebody from the area, you know. See, the boy ...

E. His parents live here ...

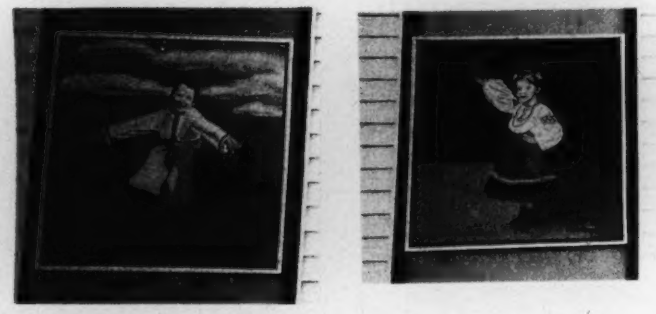
R. ... on the farm.

N. So, they are local kids.

R. Not Mundare in particular. The girl isn't, the girl is in Edmonton.

E. But her grandfather and her grandmother farmed here.
... and she was a Warawa, which his name is.

Figure 7. Paintings #3 and #7



The third thematic circle of paintings deals with the seemingly transnational phenomenon of Ukrainian dancing. Almost many Ukrainian living anywhere in the world and socialized into his or her local Ukrainian community will recognize these images of dancers as symbols of Ukrainian culture. In this picture though the meaning of what is local and what is Ukrainian in general are shifting and the distinction between the two becomes blurred. While Ukrainian dance is one of the better known symbols of Ukrainian culture everywhere Ukrainians live, in Western Canada Ukrainian dancing has come to be seen as *the* trademark of Ukrainian culture. On the other hand, it is perceived by locals as having originated in Mundare and other vicinities. Due to this understanding paintings devoted to the Ukrainian dance were copied from photos of local youth.

The local boy and girl link the trans-local art of Ukrainian dance with the locality in which it has long been appreciated and appropriated. Both local children wear what appear to be stage costumes fashioned after central and eastern Ukrainian traditional folk designs. , Despite the fact that these costumes are originally from the Ukrainian territories beyond Galicia, within the context of the lived experience of the locals they became a common element of Ukrainianness in this locality. Mundarites have assigned the central and eastern Ukrainian traditional folk costume the status of a 'national' Ukrainian attire. Andriy Nahachewsky deals with this topic in the context of the staged Ukrainian dance in Western Canada (Nahachewsky 1991: 141, 178). To ensure the viewer that she indeed deals with the local phenomenon of Ukrainian dancing, Roman asked the artist to put the real names of young local performers on each painting.

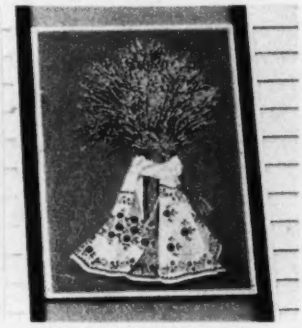
— ***Fourth thematic circle***

R. There again, [sheaf of grain] has a lot of significance here, you know. And I thought this would be also a very good image to have.
N. And where did you get the actual picture?
R. The actual came from the museum *(self posited question here)*, no, the actual picture came from ...
E. ... a postcard, from Gail.
R. ... from a post card from Gail Patria. You know, this took a long time, I asked and talked to people can you find me pictures of, of any particular paintings, you know. And then I had a whole bunch of pictures, you know. And then I have got a whole bunch of pictures and things like that, and I tried to pick up the best ones.

. . . . . .

E. And with sheaves, too, there were several elevators in this town, which farmers [...] it was a farming community.

Figure 8. Painting #8.



This thematic circle presents the Canadian coat-of-arms (painting #2) and a sheaf of grain (painting #8). With the theme of the painting #2, emphasis shifts further away from the general deterritorialized Ukrainianness to the local Ukrainianness of Mundare. The theme of the painting #8, the sheaf of wheat is seen by locals as a local symbol. The painting nevertheless opens out to trans-local national symbolism again: the style of embroidery on the *rushnyk* is not particularly local and the wheat have been recognized by other Ukrainians as the symbol of their identity and culture.

R. It is a Canadian coat-of-arms, and it gives a listing of all the servicemen in the second world and [...] what was the other one?, that was a Korean war [...] They are all servicemen from this area.
And I found this [...] in the national hall, in one of our storage rooms. It was just left on the side and the glass was broken. And I thought, gee, this has a lot of history too, it shouldn't be gathering dust here. So, I got it reframed and I [...] the artist is working on it. [...] It has a lot of detail to it, so, he thought he would need a lot more time, that's why it is not done yet.

N. So, was this picture also from the old hall that got burned down, or [...]?

R. Yeah, I don't know how far back this one goes. But it was [...] It had to be there somewhere in 1930s I guess.

On one end, a painting about the locality's contribution to national affairs is displayed. It is devoted to those citizens who fought in the wars on behalf of Canada. On the other end, a sheaf of wheat is placed. Wheat has been the most common grain grown in the area. It is seen by the locals as the symbol of their own identity of farmers. The choice of wheat to be depicted in this particular corner of the mural composition refers not only to a centuries-old tradition of Ukrainian agriculture but also to its continuation and proliferation on the local grounds.

—

Fifth thematic circle

Figure 9. Painting #1. Artist Seyi Etim at work. November 2000.

R. I kept thinking what would look best [on large murals], you know. And this is what I came up with. I thought the most important thing would be, you know, our church. And then, in the program you have a picture of our old street [Main Street, N.S.]. That's why the first one was of the church. And then the last one was ... you know.
E. Well, we've seen it when in Wendy'...
R. At Wendy Anson?
E. Yeah, in that mission shop.
R. Right, and I got the idea from there, sort of. And I thought of what would be appropriate, you know. This [the image of the harvesting] was very appropriate because this is the agricultural area, you know...
E. And there are a lot of people from Ukraine who settled in this [area], in Mundare.
N. Where did you see the church first?
R. In Mundare history book. And then the museum has it.

The last concentric circle of themes offers exclusively local imagery of the Ukrainian past of the town. Although these two pieces are often referred by locals as main components of the mural, in terms of composition, they are placed at the furthest opposed ends with regard to the central piece with its deterritorialized symbolism of Ukrainian national culture. The two paintings are also significantly larger in their size than other paintings.

R. Yeah, [about the harvest scene] ... see, like the binder and all this, he didn't know ... [how it] looks like. I had to ask people to come with pictures of a bindery, you know. And that's how he got his image.

. . . . . .

E. But the painter got those [images of] plow, [on the picture] with those oxens, from the archives, *(to her husband)* remember?

. . . . . .

E. And stalks, that's the way they were! We didn't know about [it]. Now, later on, they used to have a ... what was it called, they used to tie the stalks.

R. Oh, they used to weave, straw, right? And make it go around the sheaf.

E. 'cause later on there was the string, the twine they use to do.

Figure 10. Painting #9.

On the left painting (#1) the local lifeworld of the past is brought out through the nostalgic and beautified image of the old Mundare Ukrainian Catholic church built in 1910 in the traditional vernacular style of pioneer Ukrainian churches on the prairies.[84] The right painting (#9) offers an excursus into the local *pioneer farming* life, depicting harvest activities in times when oxen and binders were the main assets.

Both paintings present the imagery of the local past in terms of the fundamental values of the local lifeworld of the past. These values expressed in visible representations of the religious life (the church) and of the farming work ethic (the harvest) continue to structure today's lifeworld as well.[85]

---

[84] The church mural is copied from an old photograph, commonly reproduced these days and circulated as a postcard. It is available for sale at the Museum's gift shop.

[85] One possible way to interpret the art is to investigate the artist. Although very much in disfavor, there is the traditional hermeneutic notion of reconstructing the 'artist's intent'; for example, what did the symbols mean to him, what values did he place on these, etc. In our case this approach is an interesting dead end for an unexpected reason: Seyi Etim hired to paint the murals is of Nigerian background, and considerations for his choice were mostly pragmatic and financial. In this case, he is only partially the artist, but mostly a copyist and technician. Roman is the one who made the composition and is, therefore, largely the creative artist.

Interpretations

I mentioned above that diagnostic events are those that demonstrate how culture is coming into being, how it is ordered and re-ordered every time it is enacted. The creation of the paintings also pointed to the *ongoing* mixing of cultural order, non-order, and disorder, mixing which results from the interplay of many cultural processes of local and non-local character. A closer look at this project sheds light on local intersections of cultural processes that reach and unfold in this locale. These processes are: (a) a growing reflexivity of local cultures in the context of late modernity; (b) the changing reality of the local cultural scape in which the demographic majority of Ukrainians has been steadily declining, and in which they react by asserting their claims over the locality in symbolic terms; (c) the growing interaction between the locality and the outside world, which forces the locality to re-define itself against the outside; and, finally, (d) the existing dichotomy between institutionalized Ukrainian-Canadian culture and local Ukrainian culture, as well as between Ukrainian culture. All these (macro) processes meet in the locality in (micro) practices in which individual agency plays a crucial role.

(a) The mural continues to tell the story of the growing reflexivity of this locality with respect to its own culture and past. I have discussed the reasons for this in the second chapter, above, where I dealt with narrative representations of the locality and its Ukrainianness. Like the creation of the local history book, and like the organization of some exhibits in the local museum, the creation of the mural reflected an overall human fascination with round dates and anniversaries. As Roman pointed out to me and to the media, the mural was conceived as a commemorative project which would mark the arrival of the new Millennium to Mundare (Roman Warawa 12.08.00).

(b) Mundare's ethnic composition is changing so that Ukrainians' demographic majority has been declining for the last several decades. One of the ways the Ukrainian community reacts to this is by producing new collective representations of Mundare in which its Ukrainianness is reasserted. Presenting local and non-local Ukrainian themes, the mural appears as a tribute to their own quickly disappearing lifeworld. This "disappearing" has been strongly felt by local Ukrainians since the 1960s and 1970s. The reasons are numerous; I have already recounted them in detail above, in Chapter 2.2; they include the end of pioneer lifestyle through technological and economic changes, the aging of the original pioneer generation, the impact of new global and national markets on farming, new social policies, and federally assisted development of the locality's desire to preserve its heritage to name just few.

The workings of late modernity combined with changing realities in the locality have prompted new kinds of reflexivity and new kinds of agency by local Ukrainians with regard to their own lived world. In their eyes their lifeworld started changing dramatically over the last forty years. While this new reflexivity and this agency truly express a local initiative that requires understanding on its own terms, they are nevertheless correlated to sociocultural phenomena unfolding on larger scales and partaking in a broader historical context.

At the same time, Roman's efforts to redesign Mundare's public space on one of the central intersections in town by saluting its Ukrainian pioneer history speaks of a certain power position that Ukrainians and especially Ukrainian Catholics retain in their

changing community today. The National hall is the property of Ukrainian Catholic parish which inherited this "power of the Ukrainian majority" from earlier years when Mundare was indeed predominantly Ukrainian Catholic.

(c) The appearance of the mural displays the changing identity of a community that recently became more and more drawn into the expanding global culture and economy. The community is seen less and less as Ukrainian even by its own members. To some, Mundare is becoming a melting pot and its Ukrainianness is likely to fade away. The community faces pressure to define itself in succinct and attractive terms to outsiders through Mundare's interaction with the world; through membership in the world organization "Communities in Bloom," or Mundare's involvement with the World Volunteers (1998), or just the town's efforts to bring in more tourists. Mundare's Ukrainian Catholics have been responding to this pressure for the last three decades. Now, they responded with the mural Millennium project. They understood their own heritage as the defining feature of Mundare's self-definition. It is in the context of a perceived fading of Ukrainianness,[86] that one should understand the composition and the selection of themes presented on the mural and other wall paintings.

(d) Yet the selection of themes has not been just the result of the desire to arrest the disappearing past of locals. It also refers to an existing dichotomy between local Ukrainianness and Ukrainian culture in general. The imagery presented on the walls of the Ukrainian National hall, and even the visual composition, is chosen according to principles that underlie local Ukrainianness as well as Ukrainianness within broader horizons.

It is in this context that I am once again reminded of Geertz's (and later Sahlins) observation that a particular event is a unique actualization of a general phenomenon (Geertz 1961: 53-54). The wall on which the mural is arranged has become the meeting point, literally the surface, upon which the local and trans-local (seen as ethnic as well as transnational) symbolism of Ukrainianness is painted, one next to the other, in concise and easily comprehensible images. On one hand, the mural is an act of historical contingency within the broader horizon of a *deterritorialized* Ukrainianness with its symbols of ethnicity (caroling, dancing, Shevchenko, Franko, Drahomanov, the sheaf of grain, folk dress, and so on). It is within these recurrent dimensions that we recognize Ukrainianness, at both the local level as well at that of broader cultural horizons. On the other hand, the mural creation is the act of localizing general Ukrainianness. The representations root (*territorialize*) the deterritorialized culture, they instantiate the transnational Ukrainian culture within local particulars. This linking the transnational or the global to the local has been the theme and the principle of the mural composition, with its shifting emphasis from transnational (in the centre) to the local (the largest paintings, on each end). It is not by chance that the themes of harvest and of local

[86] Interestingly, when I would ask questions related to these issues in my official interviews, people would often proclaim the longevity of Ukrainian ways in Mundare. Yet, when engaged in more private, informal conversation with either the elderly or younger generations of Mundare citizens, I was often told that after this generation of elders who still remember the pioneer past and its Ukrainian traditions is gone, local Ukrainianness will die. Especially pessimistic were my elder interlocutors. "All this will die," as one lady put it during the Seniors Christmas party in 98.

religious celebrations were chosen for the largest paintings of the mural. In the linear composition, i.e. in terms of the local commentary, the mural composition begins and ends with local symbols of Ukrainianness and their pioneer/frontier past. For the descendants of the pioneer settlers, both themes, church and harvest, have a great symbolic power of representation.

All these large scale processes are played out in the locality through practices in which individual agency plays crucial role. These processes would not be occurring on the larger scales if there were no individuals willing to change things and to act.

On individual agency and changing structures

E. It was his dream, he always talked about this. His two main things [...] was the reunion on his side of the family and murals. Which was done.

. . . . . .

N. I just wanted to clarify it for myself again. Basically to start with, the idea to do the mural was of your own initiative?

R. To start with, yes. And, after all, you can't do everything yourself, you have to ...

E. *(interrupting Roman)* ... the idea was his. See, those places between the windows on the hall, he was thinking and he kept thinking, gee, maybe we could put a pysanka there, maybe a dancer there. They are so small, that's why he came up with the sheaf in one small place, a dancer in the other one. [...]

Romans' individual initiative in this circumstance is as crucial as the historical momentum in which the initiative is realized. At the same time, the idea to commemorate this disappearing lifeworld in a series of wall paintings has not just occurred to the hall president. It has been informed by a variety of other phenomena of a different scale. It was informed by regional conventions *vis-à-vis* current practices of commemoration (Roman borrowed some ideas on how to go about the project from what he saw in other communities); by widespread understandings of the historical momentum (the project was to be a Millennium commemoration); by personal knowledge and agency (Roman has lived in this area all his life and has personal, tacit, and public knowledge about the community past. Thus, individual agency affects the link between history and the present, between large scale and small scale cultural processes. It is at the level of individual agency and individual practices that the structural continuity of culture is secured, and through the same channels that change is introduced.

It is at the level of practice that the ongoing contestation between public and private understandings, between official public discourse and informal everyday life, and between different understandings of local Ukrainianness can be revealed. It is through the analysis of such conscious commemorative practices and local commentary on it that one can obtain the perspective on these contestations. I look at these issues below.

Local understandings of Ukrainianness restructured

The analysis of local practices of commemoration and local commentary (both public and private) points out the discrepancies in local understandings and meanings of what Ukrainian culture is. The following incident cited from my field notes is illustrative here:

> The first day of volunteer cooking for the wedding is over. Sixteen hours of cutting, cleaning, cooking, and doing dishes is behind and it is time to leave the Hall. Helen, a president of the local branch of the Ukrainian Catholic Women League, and I were leaving the building the last, and our conversation moved over to the mural recently painted on the northern wall of the Hall. I asked Helen what she knows about the central piece. Well, she said, on the central painting he painted three Ukrainian poets, Shevchenko, and ah .... [she paused for a while] ... I don't really know the names of others, I should have asked Roman [the hall president]. You should ask Roman, he will tell you.. (fieldnotes October 24, 2000)

Helen is not the only one who was unable to relate to her own lived world the imagery of the three famous figures. Many other Mundarites were at a loss when I asked them whether they knew who was depicted on the painting. Helen, when acting as the president of the local branch of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League – that is, when fulfilling a public function – is always on top of things. If asked to speak about all three of them, I am sure she would prepare an informative speech. In the context of a private conversation after a long day of cooking, in the midst of the everyday life happenings, much of the lofty symbolism of the trans-local Ukrainianness escapes her. Shevchenko is the only one who is known, if only vaguely, in the locality.[87] On the other hand, Helen talked at length and with warmth about the larger paintings presenting the local lifeworld of the past, explaining to me the particulars of the local history, and expressing her personal satisfaction over the fact that the old church and the harvest scene will be seen by the seniors from the lodge across the street.

The selection and composition of the paintings illustrates how local understandings of Ukrainianness are structured. At the same time they affect and restructure these local understandings. Such structuredness and restructuring are subjected to the principle of dual reference. On one hand it points to the symbolic *distance* between how Ukrainianness is imagined and how it is lived. Ukrainianness is imagined with the help of: (a) lofty symbols of high, or institutionalized, culture (portraits of the three men of letters and of politics which are not recognized by the locals), (b) cultural activities practiced by Ukrainians here and beyond this locality such as dancing and caroling (associating the locality with Ukrainianness in general), and (c) local symbolism (Ukrainianness is clearly attached to this territory). And while local symbolism appeals to many in this community (at least to many old-timers of Ukrainian background) the images of an elite and institutional Ukrainianness are not easily translated into the local, everyday lifeworld.

Thus, while there is a continuity maintained between local Ukrainian discourse and the trans-local general phenomenon of Ukrainianness, at least on the level of the symbolic representations of Ukrainianness, when one moves away from the level of public representations into non-institutionalized contexts (private get-togethers, conversations, after church teas, local dinners and other parties) the picture becomes more blurred and more complex.

---

[87] No other Ukrainian who would become prominent in the cultural and political scene of Ukraine after Franko and Drahomanov would later become symbolic representatives of Ukrainian culture in Mundare.

The analysis of the mural project also points out to some potential changes that may take place within the local lifeworld. The mural altered not only public space. Like other projects of commemoration which have already altered local reflexivity, the paintings have similar potential to provoke some restructuring of local understandings of the locality and its Ukrainianness. On the level of tacit knowing, this new dimension will have an effect on the collective memory of this community, and on its public consciousness. These in their turn will be responsible for new shifts in tacit knowing, and may affect both the explicit and the routine practices that reproduce local Ukrainianness. This new symbolic ordering of local space provides a framework for the communal and private experiences of future generations, a framework through which local people are reminded of what place they live in, and who they are as a part of broader society (cf. Harvey 1989: 214).

This section discussed one particular example of local practices which addressed the question of vitality of local Ukrainianness. Creating a mural was an example of the conscious promotion and celebration of local Ukrainian culture. In the following section I look at an example of local non-commemorative practices that do not promote local Ukrainianness consciously, but are undertaken as a matter of *routine*. Yet, these practices are as much responsible for the vitality of Ukrainianness as conscious ethnic practices are.

3.3. From commemorative to routine practices

Analysis of practices informed by self-consciously *explicit* efforts to celebrate local Ukrainianness (creating murals) provided an illustration of how Ukrainianness as a *process* unfolds. When viewed in historical perspective, the commemorative practices of an ethnic group are linked to ruling ideologies that establish themselves within the group, often enduring for some time. However, while ideologies, and along with them the form and content of commemorative practices, might change, ethnicity as a sociocultural phenomenon continues. In other words the *vitality* of culture does not rely exclusively on ideology, form or content of commemorative practices, but must rely also on non-commemorative practices. It is through attention to these that the ethnographer finds how Ukrainianness is *lived*, from day to day. In order to understand Ukrainianness as lived, the ethnographer cannot ignore the *routine* practices of everyday. Lived Ukrainianness relies on those habitual routine practices constituted through unselfconscious actions which express the tacit knowing of "how things are done here." The vitality of local Ukrainianness should be sought in those practices that constitute the substantial part of the routine of local life.

Analysis of the murals' creation revealed that often Mundarites did not recognize the original meanings of Ukrainian symbols displayed within their public space. There was a certain discrepancy between the original meaning of symbols of local Ukrainianness, and what they stand for today. Officially-sanctioned local narratives of Ukrainianness and the visual presentation of symbols certainly seemed representative of Ukrainianness at the beginning of my research, but over time and through my contact with Mundarites I came

to question this representativeness. This issue itself is most likely only of concern to academics, and not to most people of the locality. Most people living in the cultures academics research may be unaware of the original meanings of relevant texts, images, and monuments, though this lack of awareness may itself not be experienced as problematic.

Take the Hall, for example, a distinct landmark of Mundare's public space. Today it is known as a National Hall. Such National halls were once typical for Ukrainian communities. Many locals however, do not know that it originates as a Ukrainian focussed institution. Marilyn, a third generation Ukrainian Canadian in her thirties who grew up in the area and spoke Ukrainian as a child, reported her sense of discovery to me after reading a passage on the history of such halls in Barbara Hergot's paper:

> You see, I didn't even know why the halls were called 'National.' I thought, it's because they are all in Canada. I thought they are national, because they are Canadian, you know. But it turns out that they were *Narodni dim* before. So, they were National because they were Ukrainian!" (Marilyn Mandiuk 03.01.01)

Children from the Mundare school were not able to explain why the Easter Egg in Vegreville is not brown, as a "normal" – i.e. chocolate – Easter egg should be in their opinion.[88] Or take the most recent testament to local Ukrainianness, the mural central painting. The fact that the portraits of Shevchenko, Franko and Drahomanov are displayed in the centre of the mural composition may suggest good familiarity on behalf of locals with these figures, except that few of the adults could identify the three male figures for me. None of the children whom I talked to in Mundare school could explain who the people on the central painting were. Even Roman, whose individual agency was crucial in making this project a reality, and who took sole responsibility for the paintings' composition, regularly mispronounced "Drahomanov." Drahomanov is especially problematic in this regard; neither his name nor his accomplishments are remembered. The *Vegreville Observer* labeled him along with Shevchenko and Franko as a "Ukrainian poet" – which he was not (August 25, 2000). Well-respected locally in the 1920s, today he is virtually unknown. He has become a token of the past, a token emptied of all but the vaguest of symbolic meanings.

Here is another example: Christine, whom I am visiting for a couple of days, takes me around the farms for half a day. We are driving around local farmlands, many of which were once, or are now, in the possession of her family. Each piece of land is associated with names of those to whom Christine bears some relation, whether as family, as a neighbour, or as a friend: "this is my cousin's [land]... this is my uncle's ... this was my dad's .... and this is mine ...." All the environs are meaningful to her through her personal experience of belonging to this land. She grew up here and spent all her life here. "This is the neighbour's. We went to school together. This is my uncle's house. We used to visit here a lot, what fun it was, you won't believe!" When we come to the *Drahomanow* recreational area, a place she has visited quite often, she refers to it as

---

[88] In January and February 2001, I conducted group discussions with Mundare secondary and primary school children about their town. While most of these materials are not directly employed in this study, they certainly contributed to my work on this project.

"Drahay Man Park." She reads the sign *Drahomanow* without fixing her attention on either the words themselves or on their pronunciation, before turning the conversation to the structure across the road from the park: "And here is the Moscow hall. We went for so many dances here, you won't believe!" (fieldnotes, December 2000)

By citing these incidents in which past symbols are unrecognized in the personal experiences of Mundarites, I do not suggest that local are therefore not knowledgeable about their own past and their Ukrainianness. This would be as incorrect as the suggestion that local Ukrainianness is to be found only on display, in its symbols, texts, and narratives, fixed at a particular time and presented in a particular space.

I look at local Ukrainianness not as a text wherein some representational content may be easily misread, but as a process wherein the phenomenon in question is continuously coming into its own through the exercise of tacit knowing and agency. As with any cultural process, local Ukrainianness becomes "available" to the observer through human action, behaviour, and especially, through interaction. It does not necessarily reveal itself in locals' ability, or inability, to read the signs of the past. It is in their interaction as "knowledgeable agents" (in Giddens' sense), in their sure-handed utilization of tacit knowledge that local Ukrainianness is structured and restructured. Understanding the repetitions of routine practices "moving through time" and "moving through relationships" suggests an alternative manner of discerning the "shape of ethnicity" in the principal characteristics and patterns that these practices are working out. By this means it should possible to speak of something as phenomenon *and* as process.[89]

In Mundare, I have also come to see that routine events, in which the most mundane, the most repetitious, and the most familiar practices of the agent-participants are performed, are particularly significant for pointing out the processual phenomenon that is "local Ukrainianness." Its constant coming into being, its continual structuring and restructuring, takes place through these practices. Events that display this process prove *diagnostic* for they reveal the complex mechanisms that compose this process.

In the next section I look at one such event, two days of cooking in preparation for a local wedding. I chose to discuss this event precisely because it is commonplace; one of many similar events occurring with regularity in the community. Together these events represent the routine nature of Mundare's organized communal institution of food production. I also chose to look at the practices of food preparation through the prism of *ethnographic analysis*. Local food and foodways in Mundare are important mechanisms of maintaining, and providing for, the community on a number of levels, from insuring the cyclical continuity of local celebrations, to contributing to the well-being of local organizations. Local foodways also affect the individual lives of those who participate in

---

[89] This approach also makes even more problematic the understanding of representations and symbols as crucial and essential to the inner dynamics of the continuity of Ukrainianness when continuity is seen to rely on the tacit component of routine, everyday practices. There are two possibilities to resolve this difficulty: the first, which I return to in chapter four, is through reconciling a community's understanding of symbol in terms of the situation it is living. The second possibility I return to in the conclusion to this study, understanding symbol in terms of process.

them. And lastly, importantly for this thesis, local foodways are directly responsible for the *vitality* of local Ukrainianness.

I approach food practices with the question how they affect and respond to the continuing organization and reorganization of culture. I am not concerned though with the question how food practices help to maintain the order in the community. This was the concern of functionalists like Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1964). Neither I am interested in how foodways reshape and respond to the organization of social classes (Goody 1982). While I am attuned to ritual aspects of cooking and food, I am not interested in just outlining the content and form of these rituals like Robert Klymash does in his work on Ukrainian customs in the Ukrainian bloc (1992). I am rather concerned with the question how the vitality of local culture is probed and reaffirmed. Mary Douglas, I am interested in how each "cooking event" carries something of the meaning of other cooking events, how each cooking event is a structured social event which structures others in its own image (Douglas 1979).

The discussion begins with the question of the community's well-being and its dependence on local foodways. To start with, I offer a close look at the cycles of local community life which affect social structures in the locality. Various cycles constitute the temporal parameters of the local lifeworld and invest it with different meanings. The mundane and routine practices of cooking for local public events insure that these cycles of community life continue to unfold within the locality. During every cooking event, local practices of cooking appear structured, with local conventions and rules of cooking being utilized without question by the people. Ethnographic analysis of cooking events would demonstrate that while social structures (rules, and conventions) are established through the repetition of routine practices, they are over the very course of this repetition challenged, albeit tacitly and not explicitly, and hence subject to restructuring due to the agency of the performers. These practices have been informed from the start by the Ukrainian tradition that was brought over to this locality with the first immigrants. For one, cooking is perceived to be for women only. Further, recipes used for cooking are often of pre-immigration origin; those involved in the cooking socialize not only through conversation and the sharing of tasks but also by singing Ukrainian songs and dispensing Ukrainian jokes. With these practices, performed regularly and routinely, almost in a ritual fashion, many aspects of community's Ukrainianness are brought up, although not necessarily explicitly, during events that require cooking. These social structures of Ukrainianness are replayed on every occasion when a cooking event takes place in the community – which is often.

Local Ukrainianness and local food ways

In the lived lifeworld of the Mundare people, those aspects of the Ukrainian tradition that can be effectively utilized at the intersections of today's local economics, politics, social organization, and culture have the best chances to be collectively practiced in the locality. These aspects of Ukrainianness are especially subjected to 'preservation' for they continue to contribute to the core issue of the community's well-being and vitality.

In this community, of all possible practices that could be linked to local Ukrainianness, there seems nothing more pronounced and nothing more important to the community's

survival than the local foodways and food practices. Whether it concerns public well-being or individual involvement in the local lifeworld, the routine practices of food preparation, distribution, and consumption seem to be the most intricately linked to the community and its Ukrainianness. The issue of practices connected with food is thus a vital ethnographic avenue to explore.

I see food practices as powerful means to structure and restructure the local lifeworld and individual lives, and also as opportunities for people to exercise their own agency. The case of Mary Shelast is illustrative of how local foodways can affect an individual's life and empower them.

Every time I visit my friend Mary, a retired Ukrainian woman, we always end up, at some point, on the topic of food. Our conversations seem to evolve around different types of food, food preserving, cooking, serving food at community events, recipes, catering, baking, freezing, etc. When we talk about the past, her memories swing around to the subject of food. I ask her about "the old country," and the conversation shortly moves on to the topic of recipes (Mary Shelast 09.20.98). I ask her about her mother, and Mary tells me a few details, and then we find ourselves discussing her mother's cooking skills (Mary Shelast 01.13.98). As it is for Mary, cooking was a large part of her mother's life. She was always involved with cooking for weddings, funerals, and other public occasions. These days, Mary does the same. As president of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL), she is in charge of all cooking that takes place in the Hall. She is the person to receive phone calls from people wanting to book large-scale dinners for every kind of event, whether held by one of the various organizations or by a private individual. In town Mary has a strong reputation as a dedicated volunteer and a good community cook, who gives herself fully to the community and who "knows how to cook Mundare food" (field notes, March 1998).

Mundare people are proud of their food. To my question "what is Mundare well known for," which I regularly asked, among other answers given were: "Mundare sausage," "Ukrainian food," *pyrishky*, and *perohy*.[90] Even the town councilor who moved several years ago into Mundare soon realized that it is the Ukrainian food above all else that could promote the town outside the area. On a number of different conversations with me he referred to Mundare as being famous for its Ukrainian food (Bendera 01.14.98, 02.07.99).

For most, the adjectives "Mundare" and "Ukrainian" were mutually interchangeable in the context of food served in the community for public and private social functions. When I began my research in Mundare it was often remarked how Ukrainian Mundare food is. Originally I thought that the recurrence of the topic of Ukrainian food in conversations with me was just one of the aspects of outsider/insider interactions in which local people point out to me, a Ukrainian from Ukraine, their local Ukrainianness. But even much later, whenever conversation on the topic "how are things done here" took place, the theme of food would recur. "So, your organization organizes many events per year, you have many meetings, floor curling every week. What do your Christmas

[90] A survey I organized in the town produced many more references to Mundare's Ukrainian food. One of the questions in the survey was "What is the most famous Mundare food?" Mundare Survey, February, 2001.

parties look like?" I asked Lloyd Sereda. Mr. Sereda was the president of the Seniors club and actively engaged in work with seniors in the town. "Well, normally we have dinner served, drinks. Our ladies cook very well. We often serve traditional Ukrainian food, it could be perogies (or local *perohy*), *holupchi*, mashed potatoes, *pyrishky*, salad, it all depends," said the president (Lloyd Sereda 12.04.98).

Why is food so prominent in people's conversations about local ways of life? A look at the town's life as a sociocultural process with its own rhythms and cycles shows the connection between the Ukrainian foodways and the community's vitality.

Food and cycles of community life

The town, like many others in the Ukrainian bloc, has developed several rhythms of community life expressed in various cycles. Public festivities take place in Mundare annually, seasonally, and monthly. Some annual festivity cycles are of a religious nature. The presence of the Basilian Fathers and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in the community significantly affects the intensity of many of the communal events organized around the Ukrainian Catholic calendar. Religious holidays are devoutly observed by local Ukrainian Catholics (whose presence continues to be perceived by most as dominating in the town) and are strongly supported by both monastic communities. The calendar year starts with Epiphany celebrations and "Epiphany Eve dinner" in early January. Another religious holiday is *Puschennia* (pre-Lenten fast), Easter is celebrated with a special Easter dinner planned for the community and listed in the official community calendar as "Traditional Easter Dinner"(Mundare Calendar 1999). Then comes the "Traditional Parish Blessed Dinner" (May). In the summer at the end of June *Vidpust*[91] is the major festivity for Ukrainian Catholics. In winter, Christmas celebrations re-open the cycle again. These events attract many attendees, between 150 to 200, and often more.

Non-religious festivities comprise another annual cycle of local celebrations. The town administration is responsible for one set of activities aimed at promoting the town itself as well as attracting visitors whose influx helps local businesses. Like the activities presented by organizations, the town's activities are also organized by particularly active individuals. "We are into shows," the councilor Bendera tells me, "we have RV show in February, Home and Garden show in March, we have our Agri-Core days in the summer. We have bus tourists. They come attracted by the town" (Alex Bendera 01.08.98). Bendera claims responsibility for the creation of the town's Business Association that hosts an annual gala Awards Night in January. This event brings many citizens of the town together who would otherwise hardly ever participate in the organized life of the town. This especially concerns Chinese, Polish, native, and other non-Ukrainian families who live and run businesses in town and who do not, to my knowledge, attend the events perceived as Ukrainian.

The Seniors Club is another active organization in town that mounts relatively large-scale festivities. The Seniors Club provides for about 135 members, which is about one third of the adult population of the town. Ninety-five percent of Club membership is Ukrainian or

---

[91] *Vidpust* in this context means celebration of the church's patron saint, St. Peter.

Slavic, according to Lloyd Sereda (12.04.98). Major events that bring in club members and others are the Ladies appreciation night (July), Thanksgiving party (the end-of-the-Harvest celebrations), "*Perohy* Supper," a fundraising event in the fall, and the Christmas party.

Another cultural organization, the *Zustreech* Society, emerged in the mid-1990s and added a new flavor to the public life of the town with a set of their own festivities that vary from year to year (Shevchenko day in March, Ukraine's Independence Day in August, *Obzhynky* in the fall and a Christmas show in the winter). I return below to a discussion of their activities as well as the role of this Society in the community.

There are shorter cycles as well. Local events, such as monthly bingos, birthday parties for seniors, the committee meetings of various organizations, sports events (e.g., curling), among others, constitute another plane of local life. For some this plane is more significant than the others. With the construction of the Recreational Centre and the Arena in the seventies, hockey and curling increased social involvement of younger families with children. Both venues engaged in fundraising for themselves, adding more dinners and socials to the community's social schedule.

There are longer-term cycles as well, dictated by people's attachment to the "round" anniversaries. These include 50th and 100th anniversaries of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada – the first, in 1941, was especially widely celebrated in Mundare. The 75th anniversary of the Province marked by the appearance of the *Memories of Mundare*. The approaching 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Basilian fathers to Canada (2002/2003) is already a subject of special plans. [92]

In addition, ostensibly private yet still public life-cycle events, particularly weddings and funerals, systematically break into the pattern established by communal cycles. The regularity with which they occur places them within the scheme of community life and grants them a distinct cycle of their own. Most of these private events later become part of communal memory, reinforced through their appearance on the pages of the community calendar.

Events that do not fit any of the cycles mentioned above also take place in town. In 1997-2000 these were the grand opening of the permanent gallery in the Basilian Fathers Museum (1997), hosting of the International Volunteer Conference participants (1998), and the unveiling of the mural in the Ukrainian National hall (2000). These events also became incorporated into the fabric of the local life, providing locals with many possibilities to show off their culture to outsiders, and to themselves.

This is a brief outline of community-organized life. For a town of about 600, the number of active organizations and their scheduled activities is impressive. At the same time peoples' private lives and personal trajectories are governed exclusively by these social conventions. These cycles, while maintaining a feeling of stability and continuity of the local lifeworld and therefore acting as *structuring* mechanisms, constitute a *meaningful*

---

[92] Bishop Lawrence Huculak whose own background includes membership in the Mundare Basilians talked enthusiastically about Mundare's hospitality and its capability to host visitors on a large scale. (from a speech delivered during the Annual Tea at the St. Josaphat's Community Hall, October 22, 2000).

background against which individuals' lives unfold. In times of late modernity, with open-ended life trajectories and numerous global cultural flows entering the localities, it is impossible to treat these structuring mechanisms as the only dominant cultural order. Instead I view these mechanisms as something "available" to people along with other mechanisms of ordering offered from the outside; as something subject to their own understandings of how to act.

This brings me to the question of what Marshall Sahlins calls the dual interaction between the cultural order as *constituted* in the society and as *lived* by people, "structure in convention and in action, as virtual and as actual" (Sahlins 1985: ix). In Sahlins' words the problem of the "two-directedness" of this interaction centres "on the relations between social forms and appropriate acts." Often it is suggested that the acts are taken in response to already established, *prescriptive* social forms. Sahlins suggests to look further and to consider this relationship in reverse as well: "such relations are reversible: ...customary kinds of acts can precipitate social forms as well as vice versa" (Sahlins 1985: xi).

The dual directedness of the interaction between the structured order as constituted in society (as more or less 'fixed') and as lived by people (as more or less 'fluid') is not contradictory, but complementary, in the sense that due to the reversibility of conventions and actions there lies the dynamic potential for the community's change and development, for its *vitality*. (I will return to this observation during my discussion of community cooking.) At the moment, the point to be taken from Sahlins is in terms of the structuredness of Mundare social life appearing as something *prescriptive of* the individual experiences of Mundarites, and that this "prescriptive aspect" is reversible; experiences can "prescribe" the structures.

The regularity with which the events of the each cycle take place in the community, as well as their organization and their content, all contribute to local forms of socializing. Over time, these local forms of social interaction settle into the conventional and habitual structures of local social life in which the social institution of community dining has been established. By the 1990s, *Perohy* suppers, baking sales, and community Christmas parties had become for the community members conventional norms of "that's how things are done here," or to translate into Sahlins' terms, they have become *prescriptive social structures* (Sahlins: x-xiii, 19-20, 26-31).

The question remains: what does local cultural life that unfolds within these prescriptive structures owe to "Ukrainianness" as a phenomenon or process in its own right? What kinds of Ukrainianness are played out in peoples' practices and actions, as performed within the context of, and sometimes in response to, these prescriptive forms? At this point I return to my observation, made above, that to understand the vitality of Ukrainianness within the community it is necessary to look at those communal practices that serve to bring, if not keep, the community together. This especially concerns those communal practices and social acts that provide the community, and the organizations in charge of particular ritual cycles, with some kind of return, either in symbolic terms or in terms of the economic value necessary for maintaining these organizations and their celebration cycles.

The "Baba phenomenon": prescriptive structures and ritual in local Ukrainianness

To account for the vitality of these prescriptive social structures one needs to look beyond cultural practices of congregating for various 'social functions' for they are only the surface plane of community life, which ethnographers habitually call "local traditions." Communal celebrations, or "social functions," are only part of a larger social mechanism of the maintenance of the locality, and their performance and attendance is just one phase in a complex cycle of different actions to be put into motion in order to keep this mechanism going.

Another kind of local practice shall be considered along with those of celebrating and performing. Any local social function, prior to being performed is planned and prepared according to certain unwritten scripts and unspoken standards. These tacitly-known scripts and standards are the result of many years of work of a particular group of local people who could be provisionally titled as *ritual makers*. Over the course of time – usually many years through constant collaborative work – these ritual makers have developed their own system of ritual production, their own work ethics and practices, their own understanding of what constitutes the successful celebration of a public event. Through years of working, they have created their own networks in which they exercise their agency, assert their identity and experience a meaningfulness to their lives. But most importantly, they offer others in the community and its vicinities their services as well as the image of "how things have been, and should be done here." These ritual makers are the agents responsible for the continuity and above all the vitality of prescribed social structures, for they enact them through practice. And since so many of them are Ukrainians, what and how they cater manifests, "local Ukrainianness," with a different type of authority than that of "official representations."

Ritual makers have also been responsible for community maintenance for which they are the leaders. Let me develop what I mean here. Much of communal life in town is hardly conceivable without a communal meal. Almost all communal gatherings organized in town are centred around lunches, banquets, dinners, and suppers. In this perspective, the communal meal is a highly ritualized activity and a necessary component to the prescriptive social norms which are observed in town. At the same time, these self-same prescriptive social structures and norms would not be maintained and performed with such regularity and such particularity, were it not for the demand on a large-scale for food for these events; large amounts of food have to be produced in a highly organized and systemic way. The ritual cycle prescribes that certain events are to take place; the scale of these events demands an organization that becomes a ritual of its own, a ritual event.

Thus, the community's vitality depends, to a great degree, on rituals of communal food consumption. These events, as belonging to the numerous ritual cycles of the locality, are produced by the prescriptive structures of the ritual cycle. This in turn depends on the rituals of food production that rely, again, on the prescriptive structures of the conventions of the ritual event. This, in turn, depends on the individual agency of the ritual specialists who are in charge of the aspects of the rituals (the observance of the event within the ritual cycle, and the application of the conventions of the event). This chain of dependence elaborates the "reversibility" of the prescriptive structure Sahlins mentioned: ritual cycle, ritual event, and the ritual makers each rely on the next, and vice

versa. Since food production is based on tedious and time-consuming practices, which in Ukrainian culture, like in many other cultures, are all traditionally defined as "women's work," it involves and relies on work of many women in the community. Thus, the ritual specialists who are responsible for the vitality of both the community and its Ukrainianness are almost all exclusively women. Most are retired; most of the remainder are on the verge of retiring; all are in their 60s, 70s, and 80s. An elderly man during one of the Mundare socials commented on this "institution of community cooking": "our babas are feeding all the community." *Baba* in Ukrainian stands for both "elderly lady" and "grandmother." Locally the second meaning prevails. In addition, in this locality, *baba* is most often associated with food and with Ukrainian food in particular.[93] It is not surprising. The local institution of communal food production is truly a "baba phenomenon," for it is mostly Ukrainian ladies of a venerable age – often, indeed, grandmothers – who are responsible for keeping the institution of community cooking going.

Food itself and food-related practices, constitute a singularly *local* multifaceted phenomenon that I would suggest is typical not only of Mundare, but of small Ukrainian communities on the prairies as well as for Ukrainian-Canadian communities in general, concerned with maintenance of their parishes and other cultural organizations.

I have gone to numerous public events and experienced the local practices of attendance and participation. I shared the bonding of singing together, watching young Ukrainian dancers, and in the case of Seniors' parties, the tranquility of afternoon get-togethers in the Senior citizens lodge; also the excitement of weddings, and the thrill of a midnight polka or a two-step that are a normal part of public festivities. In the majority of such outings I shared the pleasures of indulging myself in the abundance of food that forms the tacit core of such community events.

The practices of food consumption are part of the prescribed social norms within the community. Scenarios of serving, and the kinds of dishes, are consistently repeated from one social function to the other. While perogies are not served regularly during the event — "well, it is clear why, they are quite time-consuming to prepare" (Christine Pawluk 11.01.00) — special *Perohy* Suppers are convened once or twice a year. These are purely fundraising "suppers." They make perogies a lesser part of traditional cycles, but an important part of the new pragmatic practices of fundraising.

Food practices in Mundare rely heavily on Ukrainian cuisine. Most dinners call for Ukrainian *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), or as the cooking ladies call them *holupchi*,[94] *nachynka* or *"kolesha"* (cornmeal), mashed potatoes, meats, and salads, while late *lonches* (lunches)[95] ask for *kubasa* (Ukrainian garlic sausage), ham, *studenets*

---

[93] This was especially obvious in my discussions with Mundare children. When I asked them "what comes to your mind when you hear the word "baba" the first spontaneous answers were "food"; *pyrohy*, and other food items (Group Discussions January and February 2001).

[94] Here and henceforth, I am citing Ukrainian names as they are spelled by Evelyn Tymchuk, the lady involved in one Mundare cooking team as the team "manager."

[95] At times of such conventions, locals often use macaronic language forms once typical of their community in the past. This is rather done in the form of the joke. Ukrainianized *lonch* and *potatas* were the two words commonly brought up during the cooking event.

(headcheese), and often for *pyrishky*, cream-and-dill sauce turn-overs seen as the local specialty. When it comes to funerals for example, instead of real cabbage rolls it is very common to serve "lazy *holupchi*," a dish in which all the traditional ingredients for cabbage rolls are simply chopped, cooked and mixed together. Such food practices established in this locality are seen as Ukrainian by virtually everyone I talked to.

One can argue that these celebrations provide locals with opportunities to systematically exercise their sense of belonging to their community. For outsiders these events are distinct and unique markers of local culture and local Ukrainianness. To some degree the community's vitality and well-being indeed depends on a continuing interest in attending such events. But practices of attendance and participation could not be realized if not for the "baba phenomenon"; that is, the social institution of community cooking. This "baba phenomenon" presents a set of other, unrecognized and unaccounted for, local rituals of community maintenance. This social institution of community cooking both provides for and is based on local women's agency which is responsible for the community's continuity and its vitality. For the "babas are still here to do it all for us, and what will be after they will be gone, no one knows."[96]

The following ethnographic account of a particular cooking event that took place in Mundare in 2000 presents one community celebration in terms of the rituals of food preparation, rather than those of presentation or attendance. It illustrates my claim that local Ukrainianness is an ongoing process in which meanings and interpretations are constantly negotiated. Quotidian practices of preparing communal meals are as much responsible for the vitality and continuity of local Ukrainianness as local commemorative practices. They constitute a ritual cycle of their own that routinely organizes many people's lives. With every particular event of cooking, local conventions and understandings of what is Ukrainianness are implicitly acted out and thus exposed to a challenge. At the same time, these practices have opened up possibilities for agency of those who come to cook regularly for their respective organizations. Cooking provides local elderly women with an opportunity to enact their own agency and equips them with the power to affect social prescriptive structures and local understandings of Ukrainianness.

3.4 Catering Ukrainianness: an ethnographic account of a cooking event

It is Friday, October 20, 2000, and tomorrow a wedding is to take place in Mundare. The catering for the wedding has been booked at least half a year in advance. The wedding is to take place in the Ukrainian National Hall, or simply "the Hall" as locals refer to it. The Kitt family could have chosen another facility for their party. In that case, they would have dealt with another group of local caterers organized around that facility. Mundare has three venues where public events that involve serving meals take place, the "Hall," the "Drop-in-centre," and the "Rec." All three have their own special cooking

[96] This comment came from Clarence, a middle-aged man (October 21, 2000); it expresses a commonly-held sentiment of the community.

committees. Each committee consists of ten to twenty local elderly women who are contacted by phone when it is time for cooking. Meals are prepared for a variety of occasions, both planned (weddings, socials) and unplanned (funerals). When it comes to booking one of those facilities, not only the facility itself (cost, space, and availability) influences the choice to be made. Individuals who make the booking may choose a particular venue due to their personal networks and involvements with specific parts of the community. Not the least factor is who is to be the main cook for the celebrations. As put by Marsha Woloshuk, "people are not just after having a meal, but they are after a good meal" (Marsha Woloshuk 10.21.00). Marsha told me that it was often up to those who "books the ladies" to choose which cook they want in charge.

The wedding itself is to be quite a typical happening for this locality. The groom is of Ukrainian background, from Mundare, who now lives in "the city" (i.e., Edmonton). He and his fiancée of German background have recently married on an island in the Pacific, but felt obliged to respect the extended families' rights to celebrate the extension of the kin. The "Ukrainian" side of the new family took upon itself the responsibility to organize the wedding reception in the locality (so that, commented the cooking women, at least half of the guests would not need to travel far). Two hundred and seventy-seven people are to be part of the celebrations on Saturday. Fifty of them are to remain for Sunday's post-reception brunch, or as one of the ladies on the cooking team describes it, for *popravlenia*. "Oh, this is a small wedding," a few cooking women confess later. What would you consider a big wedding? I ask. "Well, five hundred people, that would be a good one," was the reply. Others recollect the old times when a thousand guests were invited to a party at the Hall.

The venue in which the event is to take place is designed to provide for both groups of people, the celebrating guests and the labourers providing the meal for the guests. The two distinct kinds of activities require two different kinds of physical space to be available within the building. The Ukrainian National hall, affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Mundare, is a modern facility that was built to replace the old structure. The corner stone on the building refers in Ukrainian to 1962, the year when the construction of the hall was blessed. As a typical modern community venue that caters to large-scale community events, it is divided into two levels: the *party floor* (the main floor) and the *cooking floor* (or the basement). There is much implicit symbolism involved in the division of these two levels, with the festivities happening in the upper level and all the work being done in the lower one, right under the feet of those partying and dancing.

The party floor is a spacious hall with well-polished wood floors and an elevated stage. Light comes through the windows, and sparkling mirrors reflect this light into the middle of the floor. For concerts the room is laid out with rows of chairs to serve the audience and the performers. For weddings, tables are set up around the hall to provide for the guests; and for dancing (for any occasion) the space gets reorganized into a dance floor once again.

Unlike the undivided space of the party floor, the cooking floor is divided into a number of chambers, each serving a specific purpose: the fridge rooms, the "pie" room, the bar, the toilets, and of course the kitchen, large and spacious. The basement also has a large

dining area, which is often used for smaller parish events, such as brunches, teas, and suppers. When it comes time to cook for a large-scale community event, the whole basement area transforms into a working area.

The reception is scheduled for 6:30 p.m. on a Saturday. And with 320 guests to cook for in total, all the cooking starts on the preceding Friday morning at 8 a.m. and continues through the day until around 4 p.m. Then Saturday comes and the work resumes again around 9 a.m. Without interruption it lasts through the whole day and into the night, finishing around 1 a.m. on Sunday. I arrive on Friday morning before 10 a.m. and proceed to the basement to encounter the buzzing crowd of about twenty women. "The ladies," as everybody refers to them, are all immersed in various work and wrapped in the warmth of the steamy air coming from the kitchen. Permission is granted to my participation in the event and I am semi-officially welcomed to join the women.

The atmosphere is cheerful, with smiles exchanged, jokes performed, and commands as to what to do next given and received over the counter. Upon my arrival I drew attention, for a number of reasons. I am no one's daughter as far as the community is concerned, and perhaps what is even more striking, I am much younger than any of the women here (with their average age being around seventy years). Some women recognize me, others recollect that we had previously met after I reintroduced myself, while some others are introduced for the first time. My presence as someone from Ukraine who is to take share in their work adds a specific flavour to the whole event and will be marked in various ways through numerous conversations. After all, what is happening in the basement is in a way reserved for the community women, and not for outsiders; reserved in terms of community membership, gender, and age. Fortunately I am a woman; but as a young woman from Ukraine, I will remain doubly an outsider for the duration of the cooking.

What greatly impresses me from the very beginning is the organization of the work in the basement. It appears that everyone involved is well-experienced working on such projects together, and the work goes smoothly and is well-coordinated without much actual discussion of what and how things should be done. This is not surprising. Many women have been involved for decades. Most cook similar dishes at home. Within the framework of community cooking practices, they follow the rules and perform their roles and duties perfectly well. In spite of this, many are not able to put these rules into words in order to instruct an uninitiated outsider like myself. They tacitly know the prescriptive structure of the ritual and consequently, are its best agents.

Over the course of two working days I encounter at least five categories of work performed. These five kinds of work are divided between the "coordinators," and the "helpers." Both groups can be divided further according to the specific roles performed during the cooking event. The responsibility for the menu and quality of the meal is placed upon the *cook* who coordinates the actual cooking. In Mundare there are several cooking committees and they all overlap a great deal. There are also several community cooks. For example, Mary Shelast is the cook for the National Hall, while Marsha Woloshuk also cooks for the Hall, although "she is with the Rec" (Evelyn Tymchuk 01.23.01). It takes years of community cooking as well as formidable organizational skill and cooking talent for one to assume the well-respected position of community cook. Respect comes with many responsibilities. The cooks are in demand and they spend the

maximum amount of time for preparation of a particular event. This is unlike the helpers who can come and go at their leisure and who overall invest less time into the preparation of the meals.

The cook is not only responsible for the quality of food but also for coordinating the helpers' work around what should be done. In their interactions with several cooks, the helpers form their opinions about them. Memories of great community cooks were brought up during our conversations when I asked the women how many cooks they had in their community. "Pani Chmilar was a great cook." I hear from the ladies around, "and fun to work with. She was always in good spirits, and boy was she a joyful person!" They list about four or five ladies who were still active cooks in the community. For this particular wedding Marsha is chosen by the Kitt family to be the cook in charge. An energetic and joyful person, constantly joking, Marsha is constantly next to the pots, pouring ingredients in, mixing together, and tasting the results of her work. I never see her step outside the kitchen territory even when she takes her two or three ten-minute breaks during the sixteen hours of work.

The cooks also act in accordance to the prescriptive structures of how cooking should be done. Marsha is a true master of her art, a leader with skills, and yet also someone constantly reinventing based on a long tradition. I ask how she remembers what and in what order to send into the great number of pots and roasters sitting on the stove and in the oven, if she is not looking into any recipes while cooking. In response to my query, she tells me slowly, separating her words, as if giving me a lesson "There is - no - such a - thing – as a recipe!" Mary Shelast will later add to this exclamation: "Ukrainians do not need recipes to cook."

The *manager* (my term) is another important role performed during as well as prior to the cooking event. Cooking relies on proper selection of the ingredients that need to be provided in appropriate amounts. To provide the ingredients as well as to coordinate the actual serving of the dishes on the party floor is Evelyn's responsibility. Evelyn keeps a list of all helpers and their hours, calculates all the ingredients to be bought, provides the kitchen with the latter, as well as coordinates all serving activities on the party floor when they begin. Evelyn is surprised by my question of how she would describe her position among the other working women on the floor that night. This and her obvious skills pointed yet again to the tacit workings of a "knowledgeable agent." She does not offer any titles for her work. Then I wonder how she became such a manager and whether her role was at some point decided, perhaps during the UWCL meeting. She confesses: "No, I just take care of the rest of things here, I don't know, I guess I have done a lot of this work to know how it works."

"We are just helpers." This is the answer of many other women on the cooking floor to my question whether they have ever been the community cooks. Some laugh, "it is too much of responsibility, of course we all cook at home, but here we are just helping out." The *helpers* can be also divided into three categories, the *kitchen helpers* – among them the *babas* – and the *runners*. The *kitchen helpers* always remain in the basement and take part in the kitchen work. Within this category of kitchen helpers a particular group stands out in the eyes of all helpers, the *babas*. *Babas* are treated with greater tenderness and respect. Often when others address them they use Ukrainian instead of English.

Figure 11. *Babas* making cabbage rolls.

Even visibly *babas* are distinguishable: peaceful, slower, older, all seated together in the dining area and rolling expertly the *holupchi* (see figure 11). The "younger" ladies are on their feet running around the kitchen and doing more active work. Making *holupchi* (and on other occasions *perohy*) is traditionally reserved for *babas* by other helpers. When the job will be done many *babas* will leave the work place while others join the rest of women in their work. Rolling up *holupchi* and making *perohy* in the thousands are activities that require many hours, in fact days. Since most work can be done in advance (boiling and separating the cabbage leaves, making and cooking *perohy*), the babas can be seen in the hall very frequently doing all this work. The women joke about themselves as living in the hall especially during the months preceding Christmas. They may come to the hall to work two to six days a week, depending on the schedule of community events. Many older women come from the Senior citizens' home just across the street, and it appears that this regular involvement in the public life of the community makes them feel more themselves at home in the town, and to feel responsible for the vitality of the town's community activities.

During the cooking event the membership in this group of *babas* is not stable. Some arrive and depart as they need. Babas are not the only ones who roll the cabbage rolls. Nevertheless, in conversations they are marked out as quite a distinct category of helpers in the kitchen. Upon my arrival, pointing to the ladies around the table rolling up *holupchi*, Christine suggests, "join our *babas*." I join the group of eight *babas*. "Our *babas* are the best for *holupchi*." These and other references to "our *babas*" help demarcate the difference between the *babas* and the rest of the women in the basement.

Another category of helpers, whom I am calling *the runners*, appears later, on the day of the wedding, an hour or so before the reception. This group of people in their thirties is to run up and down between the two floors linking the two groups of participants of the wedding celebration by providing the partiers upstairs with the results of the two days of work of those in the basement. It sounds as if traditionally it was *men*'s responsibility to carry the cooked food out to the upper world of the partying company. When explaining to me "how providing for the weddings are normally done here" Evelyn says: "at the day of the wedding we invite men to come and help us with bringing food upstairs." That this is the men's prerogative to go to the partying floor with the prepared food seems to be a shared agreement among the women in the basement. As if to confirm my observations,

one kitchen lady turns to Evelyn, the manager of the whole organization around the cooking, with the question, "can *I* bring this dish upstairs?"

The heaviness of dishes certainly explains the arrangements, yet the symbolism of the labour division cannot escape me. Nineteen women on Friday and fourteen on Saturday labour in the basement kitchen for twenty-four hours, preparing all the dishes; then, men in an hour present the results of women's labour to the sparkling world of the partying company just above the heads of the cooking ladies. In reality though, and to the contrary of what I am told by several cooking women, there are only two men, and eight women among the runners. For about an hour the group of ten "men" runs between the cooking and the partying floor, bringing dishes and trays, upstairs, following Evelyn's commands, and setting up the buffet in the middle of the hall. Evelyn, at times along with someone helping her out, and the "men" are the only link that connects the cooking floor and the partying guests.

The cooking women downstairs seem to be involved in their own world of intense labour, in their own temporary but regularly recurring *communitas* (Turner 1969: 96-97) with a set of elaborate yet unspoken rules. This *communitas* establishes itself clearly in terms of boundaries of behaviour that set off "the ladies" from of the guests. A rule of non-interference of the wedding celebration is one such rule that marks out the ritual divide between the guests and the cooking ladies. Since the wedding is a "private" party, the cooking ladies overall do not go upstairs, for they are asked only to cook, and not to celebrate. Not that they had no interest in how the wedding was unfolding; on the contrary, their conversations reveal much curiosity about what is happening above their heads. They inquire about the noises coming from the party floor and make guesses about the party's progress. Some ask whether the bride is Ukrainian, others wonder whether she is local.

This unspoken rule maintains the *communitas* of ladies even during events in which they have just as much right to be considered guests. However, on these nights, which were also large-scale public occasions, such as the community's Awards night (1997, 2000), the cooking ladies are still not visible among the guests. On one hand, there is constantly much work to be done to keep the cooking and serving machine running. To leave the cooking floor for the party upstairs can be perceived by the cooking women as a betrayal of their *communitas*. This is not to say that such "outings" are prohibited or discouraged. Rather it is *felt* as "unethical" for the ladies to leave their partners "in chore" (as the cooking is referred to by many ladies) to step outside of this temporary world of intense labour into the world of entertainment. The solidarity engendered in *communitas* provides the dynamism that gives the reversible interplay between personal agency and ritual structure its prescriptive force.

The symbolic boundaries of the *communitas* were maintained during the evening by both groups of people involved in the wedding ceremony. At the moment of acknowledging the cooks' work, in the middle of what was understood as the "eating moment" upstairs, there came a thunderstorm-like sound from the numerous feet tapping on the floor. The ladies in the basement looked at each other, smiled with satisfaction, and exchanged comments to the effect that "this must be for us." The cooking ladies always meet this common act of appreciation by the partying crowd for the work done by "the ladies in the

basement" with a strong sense of pride and satisfaction. At the same time, this exchange of gratitude between the floors involved no direct contact between the worlds of the partying *communitas* and the labouring *communitas*.

Even when the two parties come into direct contact at the moment when the second meal is served around 11 p.m. the divide between them remains. The "*lonch,*" or lunch, consists of traditional local "snacks" such as cooked ham, Mundare sausage, trays of headcheese, cheese, pickles, and the local favourite, *pyrishky*. This time, the food is served downstairs in the basement, for dancing is already in progress on the party floor. The partying guests arrive one by one to the basement. Part of the ladies' space is invaded for a short period, and most of them are confined to the kitchen area itself. This is also the moment to slow down and watch the party or engage in the conversation while in the kitchen. Some women from amongst the guests step into the kitchen. They turn out to be members of cooking committee who, on this occasion, didn't get involved with cooking for various reasons. Out of a sense of obligation, perhaps, or of solidarity, or out of habit, these partiers share some time with the cooking team. They also offer some help to them. For example, Mary becomes involved with in the cook's usual responsibilities, thus identifying herself at the moment more with the world of the kitchen than with the world of the party. [97]

The partying guests' descent into the basement can be seen as a contact between the two worlds, but upon a closer examination, it becomes clear that the two groups are actually retaining their discreet role of serving and being served. Those from the kitchen world did not make an effort to get in touch with those from the partying world. The divide is maintained during the shared time in the basement. The kitchen ladies did not go anywhere but remain where they are.

Thus, while the *communitas* of the cooking women was strongly maintained during the evening, only the food itself acted as the link between the two worlds. Downstairs, great amounts of food were produced, to become a central part of the celebrations upstairs. Various foods and food ingredients in great quantities occupied the mind of the ladies as well as the counters in the basement for two days. The food, or rather the necessity to produce it, kept the ladies together in work. Sixty pounds of meat, ten huge yellow cakes on trays, light green *kapusta* in huge piles on the counter prepared for *holupchi*, wings, breasts, and legs of chicken filling up all the oversized sinks that would later become four hundred and twenty pieces of chicken, pigs' feet that would later become four roasters of garlicky *studenets*, two hundred and forty pieces of strawberry shortcake, fifteen gallons of mashed potatoes, or *potatas* as many of the ladies pronounce it, cornmeal, trayloads of fresh vegetables, and numerous other kinds of foods dominate the kitchen's world for two days. Activities in the kitchen changed quickly with each new dish being prepared, upgraded to a new flavor, or put aside to stew or simmer. Each process involved at least two people or more, with foods of all colours, textures, and flavours coming into play; ladies would exchange roles, alternate positions within the room or move into other

[97] It is important to mention that women who cook often for the community also regularly switch their roles from cooking ladies into the roles of guests. While this alternation between the two distinct groups of providers and provided is very common, the symbolic divide between the two is ritually enacted in each community event which involves food.

rooms. This entire complex orchestration was directed toward the final product to be consumed by the guests at the other end of the wedding celebration.

The practices of food production and food consumption are ironically disproportionate when it comes to the actual amount of time required for their performance. Food preparation had taken twenty-four working hours. Much care was applied to its service. Yet, the dinner itself was over in an hour. While the preparation of food took much time, it was consumed disproportionately quickly. It was not savoured for hours as it would have been in Ukraine, or perhaps in another culture.

There is also something disproportionate about the pronounced value of food and food rituals as they are practiced in the community today. On the one hand, food is given much symbolic weight in local commentary. In publicly oriented discourse and in dealing with outsiders, offering food is recognized as a part of local hospitality and an essential virtue of Ukrainianness. "Don't you know Ukrainian hospitality, we are Ukrainians here," I was told once, upon being invited to share a meal with the family of the former school principal (Sylvia Zacharkiw 30.09.97). Indeed, everybody whom I have been in contact commented, in one way or another, on how important food-ways, and especially Ukrainian food-ways, are for their community's continuity. This would lead one to think that practices of food consumption would also be correspondingly elaborate. Yet, while the rites of serving food have their formats established, the actual length of time spent on meals has significantly shortened over the last century. The paradox is that, on the level of public discourse, there is recognition of the importance of traditional Ukrainian food culture for the community's identity, while the collective community practices of food consumption are neither traditional (in terms of "old country" traditions) nor lengthy. Such a discrepancy between local commentary on the value of Ukrainian food and local food practices speaks to a changing character of local social conventions, rules, and structures.

Interpretations

I claim above that rituals of food production together with "the *baba* phenomenon," the social institution of community cooking, are responsible for the vitality of local social structures of the community and of local Ukrainianness. The vitality of any social phenomenon relies on the *continuity* of prescriptive structures, and their being actively *appropriated* and *changed* by the agents. Agents, while acting within the framework of these prescriptive structures have the potential to affect and with time even alter these structures. Thus both, the continuity of those social structures that are responsible for Ukrainian identity of locality, and their being risked and challenged every time they are acted out, constitute two indispensable sides of the vitality of local Ukrainianness.

The analysis of the cooking event illustrates how local practices of catering for the community reproduce prescribed social structures and how they follow local social conventions. These are the structures that are collectively acted out during the event. In the process of communal cooking, each woman's tacit knowing informed by the tradition is activated and brought into a collective unreflected knowledge of how the institution of community cooking has to work. Each individual's knowledge is checked out against this collective knowledge, and against the knowledge of the cooks. The cooks are granted

considerable authority. At the same time their authority is also socially constructed. For example, although solely responsible for the food scenarios and quality, Marsha Woloshuk (the cook) was not relying on her own knowledge of recipes only. Her acts were under constant, if unspoken, scrutiny by others including another visiting cook who was not part of the cooking team for this particular event, and by kitchen helpers, among whom were cooks from other cooking committees. And importantly, food consumers – the community itself – later judged her actions.

A close look at the event also gives evidence of a change in the prescribed structures. While local commentary, on one hand, continues to represent some practices as organized in a conventional way, the actual performing of these practices points to the discrepancy between the local commentary and how these conventions were realized. For example, within the institution of cooking many traditional Ukrainian values are brought into play. Traditional understanding of the male/female division is re-instituted through the perception that "cooking is for women, but delivering the prepared meal is for men. In point of fact, however, the deliverers of the food to the partying guests are not solely men anymore. It is true that, in the past, the group of runners did consist of adult men, who were to present the products of the labouring women to the partying food consumers. In practice though, "runners" included quite a variety of people: young women, men, and teenagers. This discrepancy attests to the changing nature of social structure in this locality.

There is another important discrepancy between local commentary and food practices that points to changes the social structures undergo. This time I refer to local statements on how important Ukrainian food is for people in this community. In "pioneer times," food was appreciated differently than it is appreciated now. Ukrainian rituals of food consumption were prolonged and time consuming. Weddings were held for three days, with many meal sessions following each upon the other. Visits to private homes meant long dinners and staying behind the table for the whole night. Today these rituals of food consumption are shortened to the pragmatic minimum. During public meals, often "helpers" go to collect the plates from the guests even before they finish their meal, which forces the guests to finish their dinner promptly. Today's locals of course are accustomed to this pace of dining, but outside guests – like myself at the beginning of my fieldwork – may get caught by surprise.[98]

All this points to changes within the social structures themselves. Local practices of food consumption have obviously changed due to social and cultural change in this locality. Communal meals are no longer family-organized *symbolic* exchange of favours, foods, and gifts where neighbours and families would be involved in visiting each other on a rotating basis. Communal meals long ago became a main means of fundraising for the community itself, as well as for various community organizations. They now indeed represent a different kind of symbolic exchange, in which not just symbolic capital was exchanged but monetary as well. Communal dinners, fundraising suppers, and lunches all

[98] The dinner during the Kitt's wedding lasted altogether one hour and fifteen minutes. During this time, up to half an hour would have been spent waiting for one's table's turn in the line-up to the buffet. Guests would need to go twice to the buffet. First for the dinner itself, then for the desserts; altogether, this left thirty to forty minutes for eating.

have to be paid for by the guests directly and any profit goes into supporting the organization that hosts the particular event.

Food practices and rituals of food preparation, then, are doubly important for the community's continuity and the vitality of its Ukrainianness. Women's cooking for the community underpins the organizations they cook for, providing them with monetary capital (a few thousands dollars may be raised during one event) and symbolic capital (Ukrainian food is served, consumed, and, in the form of substantial leftovers, brought to the homes of those who cooked). For every public event, depending on attendance figures, the cooking ladies are enlisted to raise money for their respective organizations. As for the Ukrainian Catholic Women League (UCWL) who catered for the Kitt's wedding, the funds raised through cooking go to their church, to the National Hall, and to their own organization. At Kitt's wedding more than three thousand dollars was paid to UCWL for their catering services (ten dollars per plate). During other public events attendees also pay for the communal meal, from seven to twenty dollars per person. Cooking women only recently (several years ago) started to receive symbolic payments, a dollar or two per hour of their work. This new fashion, as was emphasized to me, was not a local invention, but was imposed from the outside. "We had to start paying our ladies, for other communities started doing that, and we thought that we had to do the same" (Evelyn Tymchuk 01.23.01).

While the fundraising aspect of community cooking obviously contributes to the community's well being and organizational life in economic and financial terms, the vitality and continuity of local Ukrainianness is also assured by other aspects of this *baba* phenomenon. The question is how local Ukrainianness continues coming into being every time rituals of food production take place. This vitality (always coming into being) is closely connected to the following facts: (a) the majority of cooking women in this community are elderly women of Ukrainian background, (b) their unique *baba*'s *communitas* is routinely re-established every time communal cooking takes place (the *communitas* during which women exercise their collective Ukrainian identity and the identity of community providers), (c) their *communitas* routinely produces Ukrainian food for local community celebrations and locals are subject to routinely experience it, and (d) local people are also routinely reminded of the *babas'* authority on Ukrainian cuisine. In addition, it is precisely because of this repetitious, cyclical, *routine* nature of food practices that the authority of local Ukrainianness, through the authority of local Ukrainian food, is regularly achieved, recognized, communicated, and maintained.

(a) *The majority of cooking women in this community are elderly women of Ukrainian background.* In fact, all women who participated in the cooking event for Kitt's wedding were of Ukrainian background. This was somewhat predetermined, for the cooking committee is part of a large Ukrainian Catholic network. They contribute to the organizations their knowledge of how to cook among others Ukrainian dishes, and how to cook within the team. Being of the same ethnic background enables these women to develop a stronger sense of *communitas* when they enter the kitchen space of the local public halls.

(b) *During each ritual event of communal cooking the cooking ladies re-establish their own communitas.* In this routinely re-created *communitas* of the cooking ladies the

Ukrainian language is often spoken, Ukrainian jokes are told, Ukrainian songs are sung, and English words purposely mispronounced with heavy Ukrainian accents as they used to be pronounced in "the old days." This is all done with pleasure, pride, and a sense of bravado. *Communitas*, thus, provides local elderly cooking women with meaningful social space in which they exercise their own individual identities, re-create their collective identity as providers for the rest of the community, and employ their tacit knowing. This is the space in which they most actively construct and realize their own agency. Such involvement in this *communitas* allows them to re-invent themselves as a vital communal force and as accomplished individuals, or knowledgeable agents. *Babas' communitas* emerges within any local ritual cycle, and thus it also partakes of the many ritual cycles with the highest possible frequency. The maximum intensity of this participation can be observed during November and December when all the organizations are preparing for Christmas and do their major fundraising with bake sales. During these two months, because of the amount of work, the ladies "leave the hall for the night only" (Christine Pawluk 11.01.00).

(c) *Babas' communitas routinely produces Ukrainian food for local community celebrations and locals are subject to routinely experience this food.* I have referred in this and the previous section to many dishes that are considered Ukrainian in this locality. Not only the public taste for Ukrainian food is constantly reshaped during these communal dinners, but back in the kitchen, the recipes are revised and refined with every cooking session. Scenarios and menus of communal dinners become complexly structured. With some variation in menus, dinners tend to repeat each other. Thus, Ukrainian dishes, repeated from one event to another, become the most telling mark of local Ukrainianness. This repetitiveness of Ukrainian food during public events serves as the tacit background against which local understandings of local Ukrainianness unfold, contributing to local discourse on the importance of traditional Ukrainian food for the community's identity.

(d) *Local people are also routinely reminded of babas' being an authority on Ukrainian cuisine. Babas*, especially the oldest ones, enjoy respect and recognition from their community. Their volunteer time and effort are routinely appreciated during the same festivities. The attendees of these celebrations are routinely reminded of *babas'* contribution to the well being of their community. Often, the cooking ladies are publicly acknowledged and granted with town diplomas for community service. With such official recognition comes a trust in their authority and a belief in their knowledge of Ukrainian cuisine and overall, of "how things should be done here."

Thus, it is in the context of everyday life, and in this particular case, in the context of mundane and tedious cooking for the community that local Ukrainianness continues to be practiced. The locals often commented to me that with *babas* dying out the institution of community cooking and of Ukrainian food, as well as other traditions, will also die out. I expect the future will not turn out in exactly this way. The created *communitas* of *babas*, and all cooking women for that sake, proves to be a phenomenon-in-progress which will continue to rely on the collective traditions, with their prescriptive structures, of cooking. These traditions are passed on to each new woman entering this *communitas*. For she will be socialized into this *communitas*, which transmits tacitly knowledge of "how things should be done" long after today's *babas* die. This will be the case for as long as local

women, upon their retirement, are willing to support their various organizations by providing to these organizations their cooking skills. A serious rupture in the tradition of community cooking may occur if organizations do not manage to attract local women to keep it up. This already happens in neighbouring communities, where professional caterers, familiar with traditions of Ukrainian-style community dining, are stepping in where the institution of community cooking is failing.

I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that I would also address the question of whether the issue of the "old country" is going to surface in these local practices of community cooking and in local practices of Ukrainianness. On the conversational level, during the cooking event, there were some references made to the "old country." There were some comparisons made about how to cook here and there, there were some questions asked about "what kind of *borshch*, (*pyrishky*, etc) they do there." During the two days of cooking I saw myself as the only reason why these questions were asked and issue of similarity of food practices *here* and *there* was raised. Would I not have been part of that cooking event, I doubt there would have been any regular conversations held that would involve references to the "old country."

Conclusions: from practice to representation

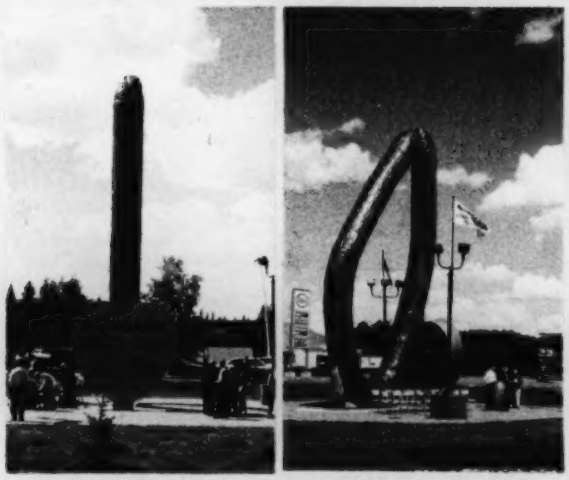
Ironically, the discussion of the importance of local food-ways to Mundare life world and to its Ukrainian identity, focussed at the level of routine practices, brings us back to the issue of commemorative practices and, further, representation. I mentioned above that the repeated significance of Ukrainian food during public events serves as a background against which local understandings of local Ukrainianness unfold, contributing to local discourse on the importance of traditional Ukrainian food for community's identity. The same understandings have already contributed to local representations of community's identity. Ukrainian food, often associated with important religious or life-cycle celebrations, is depicted on the mural (Easter basket), displayed in local museum (ritual breads), and recently, even monumentalized (directly).

"Ukrainian Home-Made Style Sausage" is produced locally and marketed nationally by Stawnichy's Meat Processing Plant.[99] In the year 2000, like many other communities in Canada, Mundare wanted to mark the beginning of the Millennium with their own project. Town council, planning to apply for a government grant, considered building a monument that would be representative of history, culture, and the achievements of the Mundare community over the last hundred years. They eventually passed a proposal for a monument to the "Ukrainian Home-Made Style Sausage," a.k.a. the Mundare sausage.

---

[99] The "History and Description of Business," a brief outline of Stawnichy's Meat Processing Plant, describes its sausage in precisely these terms. The pamphlet is available from Stawnichy's local store.

Figure 12. Monument to Mundare Sausage.



I was exposed to the idea of building a monument to the locally produced Ukrainian sausage in 1998. It came up in conversation with the town councilor who had moved to Mundare to retire in the early 1990s: "I have another project which is not yet known to many, well, some people know it. We want to put up, I want to get a forty-five foot high sausage. ... There is a history of sausage making in Mundare." (Alex Bendera and Ed Stawnichy 12.07.98).

Some other proposals were introduced. One of them, for example, was to depict a huge sheaf of wheat. Wheat is considered by many locals to be "the symbol of local farmers' life" (Marilyn Mandiuk 11.16.00, Peter Wirstiuk 01.12.01). The supporters of the sausage monument won the case however. Their case was built on the claim that "Mundare sausage is a true symbol of the town, and that the Mundare sausage business brings in lots of visitors."[100] The town was divided over the issue of having or not having the sausage on the podium. The issue was soon resolved however, *against* the sausage project, since the government grants for the millennium projects were not to fund projects promoting private businesses. As a result, the sausage project was withdrawn from the town millennium commemoration agenda. With this withdrawal the plan of seeking governmental support for any future monument died.

Yet the sausage monument idea did not die. The Stawnichy family passed the project into the hands of the newly-created Stawnichy Charitable Foundation which initiated a fundraising campaign. By spring 2001 it had collected $28,000 of the estimated $39,000 total needed for the completion of the monument. The sausage "will stand on end with a heart shaped support and plaque at the bottom reflecting the community's theme, 'Small Town with a Big Heart.' The sausage will tower about 40 feet (4 storeys) and will be about 4 feet in width. The heart will be about 12 feet high" (*Site work* 2000: 3).

On June 8, 2001, the official opening of the monument added another page in the history of the Mundare and Ukrainian-Canadian representation of Ukrainianness. As the mural was a local manifestation of the new mural fashion on the prairies of the last two decades, the Mundare or Ukrainian Sausage, following the Ukrainian Easter Egg in Vegreville, and the Pyrogy on the Fork in Glendon continues the trend of the monumentalization of Ukrainian-Canadian experience on the prairies (see figure 12).

[100] This repeats the statements made by A. Bendera in my interview with him in 1998.

Like the mural, in years to come, this monument will most likely be attributed to locals' and perhaps particularly local Ukrainians' inventiveness, imagination, and sense of humour. Over time the sausage monument will become described in terms of its *representativeness* of local culture, with its roots in Ukrainian traditions and Ukrainian food-ways. For academic researchers of Ukrainian Canadians, this project will provide food for thought, supplying material for future interpretations of cultural maintenance of Ukrainianness in Canada. The locality's successors will possibly be very proud of this tourist attraction. When approached ethnographically however, the sausage commemorative project reveals complex negotiations over how Mundare identity shall be represented. Behind these negotiations stand different local powers. The business that produces Mundare sausage is owned by the longtime mayor of town who is clearly in a position to influence local decisions over what monument should represent Mundare and its history. It is equally clear that the benefits that could accrue from the giant sausage as a tourist attraction would impact his business favourably, among others. One could easily surmise that internal community tensions emerged with regard to this project, and these indeed took place.

Negotiations over the public space and visual representations of Mundare identity, informed by the issues of the power positions of negotiators will, most likely, not be widely remembered in the future. It will also remain unknown whether supporters of the sausage monument actually shared (or cared about) the idea that Stawnichy's "Home Made Style Ukrainian Sausage" is representative of their community's identity and history. Perhaps some supported the project, for it was introduced by local power figures, the mayor and town's councilors. Not to support the project would have meant to go counter to local authority and local power. The story of the monument construction as the story of a power interplay will remain in the present. The future, most likely, will enjoy a different version of the sausage saga. New symbolic meanings will be attached to the monument. In future it will speak of local culture, of a history and local identity rooted in Ukrainian traditions, especially of distinctively Ukrainian foods, like the sausage. And, as with the mural, the sausage monument will be treated as a "collective" representation of local identity and history.

While immersed in their routinely organized everyday life, in their lifeworld with all its complexities, order and non-order, the cooking ladies hardly needed to move beyond their *local* experiences of Ukrainianness, their own agency, and the sense of being in charge of the community's continuity. In this context the "old-country," that may enter the local lifeworld in other situations, remained to be in the far distance.

Chapter Four.

Mundare Ukrainianness: Transnational Challenges

In the first chapter I made the claim that the citizens of Mundare in the last quarter of the twentieth century have had to face challenges of a new order which put its continuity, vitality, and "Ukrainianness" in question as never before. The issues confronting Mundare raise the question of whether it will be able to continue as a Ukrainian-Canadian community, or whether it is already gradually moving into a next stage wherein the "locality" metaphor will best describe its emerging plurality, discontinuity, and diversity.

In the chapters that followed I examined this contemporary development from two different perspectives. In the second chapter I dealt with local *representations* of Mundare and its Ukrainianness. By looking at various cultural texts I searched for the meanings attached by the locals to their history, locality, and Ukrainianness. In other words, second chapter was concerned with *explicit* statements of Mundarites with respect to their locality and its identity. In addition, I argued there that representations of Mundare Ukrainianness should be seen as attempts to create a sense of *continuity* of a community during times of rupture: myths of origin were fixed in narratives and museum displays; the symbolism of the "old country," of "there" and "then," became an "empty symbol" whose prime purpose was to legitimate local Ukrainianness "here" and "now."

In the third chapter I looked into the midst of the lived world of Mundare, where Ukrainianness is not just represented but practiced as a part of the everyday life. In this chapter I addressed the theme of the *vitality* of Mundare Ukrainianness from the perspective of *practice*. I emphasized that Mundare Ukrainianness is not just about explicit representations, and that it should be viewed as a process that unfolds through practices which are explicit and implicit.

Two important points shall be made here. First, Mundare practices of Ukrainianness emerged as *local* practices determined to a great degree by Western Canadian experience and history rather than by Ukrainian culture only. Second, many local Ukrainians are afraid that their Ukrainianness is threatened by new developments and is dying out. These feelings once more point to the ongoing time of rupture responsible for social, cultural, and economic changes in the Mundare community, which is becoming more and more a contested terrain. The motivations behind most projects in local representation remain valid, for their cause remains in place *Memories* was published in 1980, the museum was built in 1990, and family histories continue to be produced.

Together, *local* practices and *local* representations of Mundare Ukrainianness speak of how a community *lives* and *understands* itself in times of rupture with its emerging plurality, discontinuity, and diversity. In the last quarter of the twentieth century Mundare's way of living as a distinctive community and its ways of understanding itself have been continuingly put to the test. Recent global political changes (the collapse of the communist bloc), economic changes (the increased interdependency of global traffic of capital, wealth, commodities, technologies), and global cultural flows of ideas, meanings,

and imagination all contributed to the growing sense of discontinuity of the local lifeworld in Mundare locality. In the context of these large scale processes, Mundare has been witnessing gradual change in its population profile, ethnic composition, and physical landscape. Physically, within the last three years, one of the two remaining elevators was taken down by its corporate owner. "Ukrainian" murals were created, and the monument to the Mundare sausage was erected in the middle of the town.

During these shifts in the local lifeworld, Mundare has also become home to several individuals and families who have immigrated to Canada from Ukraine in the 1990s. In 2000, I counted ten persons (families and women married to local farmers) who had immigrated from Ukraine and who were living in the area. Recent immigrants from Ukraine find their own version of Ukrainianness notably contrasting local Ukrainianness. Mundare Ukrainianness is different than anything they experienced in their homeland. Unlike other outsiders and non-local Ukrainians who might present some "external" threat to the continuity and vitality of local Ukrainianness, immigrants from Ukraine present a different kind of challenge to the locality's Ukrainian identity and practices. The new challenge can be seen as "from the inside." These *novoprybuli* (newly arrived) Ukrainians have been challenging local Ukrainianness in a unique and very active way.

I choose to concentrate on the challenges introduced by recently arrived families and individuals from Ukraine for the following reasons. While various outsiders of non-Ukrainian background do present a challenge to the integrity and continuity of local Mundare community, they are not seen by Mundarites as people who could challenge their own Ukrainianness. But the picture is different when Ukrainians from Ukraine are concerned. Non-Ukrainians moving to the town cannot question what local Ukrainianness is, they have to accept it as is, while Ukrainians from Ukraine can and do question it.

The actual presence of Ukrainians from the "old country" challenges *by their very presence* the symbolic and mythical representations of local Ukrainianness discussed in the second chapter. *Real* Ukrainians from Ukraine do not exactly fit local imagery of "the oppressed brothers from the old country" as constructed in local mythologies. It is clear why. The mythologies are of a static and fixed nature, while Ukraine has undergone many changes since the times that Mundarites' ancestors experienced it. Of course, Mundarites still attempt to maintain their own mythologies, for these mythologies have long been providing them with meanings for their own lives. One strategy to explain discrepancies between local Ukrainianness and newly-arrived Ukrainianness is to deprive the deprive newcomers of their Ukrainianness: new immigrants are discounted as Russified, as Russians, or Soviets, but not true Ukrainians.

In addition to challenging local *representations* and their mythologies, new immigrants from Ukraine have been also challenging local *practices* of Ukrainianness, for they came to Mundare equipped with their own knowledge of how to practice Ukrainianness. Furthermore, the newly arrived Ukrainians came with their own imaginings of who Ukrainians in Canada should be. These imaginings were the product of various historical and social processes that have been unfolding in their own home villages and towns in Ukraine.

Given all the above, in this chapter I consider how and why newly arrived Ukrainianness from Ukraine challenges Mundare Ukrainianness. To account for these new challenges which Mundare Ukrainianness faces today, one has to consider (a) how imaginings of Mundare Ukrainians have been constructed back in Ukraine and (b) how immigrants from Ukraine assert their culture in Mundare community. To do so, one has to consider Mundare Ukrainianness again, as it was done in the first chapter, in the context of larger sociohistorical processes. This time more specifically in the context of late twentieth century Ukrainian transnationalism.

In the remainder of this section I place Mundare in the context of Ukrainian transnationalism of the late twentieth century. Since the late 1980s new historical developments (the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's independence) and rapidly developing new technologies of transportation and communication (internet, travel, media) have made the Ukrainianness of Ukraine more "available" to Mundarites than ever before. I also argue that Ukrainian transnationalism has long ceased to be the project of the elite. With possibilities of traveling and better communication between Ukraine and other places where Ukrainians live, Ukrainian transnationalism has been experienced by ordinary Ukrainians more now than ever. I call this "grassroots Ukrainian transnationalism."

In addition, I suggest that grassroots Ukrainian transnationalism is closely linked to kinship. Ukrainian transnational connections of ordinary people have been unfolding within the last decade – initially during perestroika and more pronouncedly since Ukraine's independence – informed by different imaginings of each other. These imaginings of overseas Ukrainians were constructed on the basis of people's understandings of kinship, because Ukrainians at opposing ends of the Atlantic ocean have been crossing that space and exploring each other's worlds most often through visiting their kin. Their travel itineraries and destinations and their imagining of these retrace the contours originally laid out by the social institution of kinship relations. Thus in the case of Ukrainians, whether in Ukraine or its diaspora, kinship, or more precisely, *different understandings* of kinship play a crucial role in grassroots transnationalism.

After discussing different imaginings of kinship as practiced in Mundare and in Western Ukrainian villages from where first settlers came to Western Canada, section two of this chapter offers a detailed discussion on how Canadian (and Mundare) kin is imagined in the village of Hrytsevolia. Throughout the twentieth century, Hrytsevolia supplied Mundare with several families during different immigration waves. In 1993, another family of four arrived to Mundare from Ukraine, with the husband being originally from Hrytsevolia. The Pivovarchuks brought to Mundare not only their family but also their enthusiasm and love for Ukrainian culture, as well as their imaginations of their Canadian kin. Their agency, their Ukrainianness, and their local cultural agenda on promoting Ukrainian culture are the subject of my discussion in section three of this chapter.

4.1. Mundare, Ukrainian transnationalism, and kinship

Before I proceed with the discussion of the transnational challenges that the Mundare community faces today, a brief outline of what I understand by "transnational" is due

here. The term "transnational" appeared in the 1980s to describe a broad variety of cultural and social phenomena emerging in response to the changing nature of the world's social and cultural order experienced in the twentieth century. On a broad scale, it refers to those kinds of organization of human experience that transcend national borders. While transnational connections have been known among various groups of people prior to the twentieth century, nowadays "transnationalism" is most often associated with corporate organization of work and leisure, mass culture, international political organizations, and all other types of deterritorialized cultural processes that do not remain confined to a nation state. What Anthony Smith calls transnational culture — "mass commodities, a patchwork of folk or ethnic styles and motifs stripped of their context, some general ideological discourses concerned with "human rights and values," standardized language of communication, all underpinned by new communication technologies" (Smith 1991: 157) — has little connection to any national project or national cultural domain, for all these mass commodities, real or virtual, move easily across national borders. The discussion of transnational next moved to *transnational communities*, of cosmopolitans (Clifford 1997: 36), of corporate workers (Ohmae 1990), of environmental movements (Robertson 1992), of religious communities and many others (Hannerz 1996: 91-93), who developed their unique sense of belonging to their own community.

In this study, *transnational* is used in a narrower sense, more closely to Linda Basch and others' understanding of diaspora/homeland interaction (Basch et al. 1994, Schiller et al. 1992). It specifically refers to cultural processes emerging from the mass movement of large segments of population across national borders and their interactions with homelands. Such populations, upon settling in different nations, often establish themselves as distinct cultural and social groups while they continue to maintain connections with their original homelands. Their participation in the national projects of homelands, and their private involvement with the kin left behind, fosters different kinds of transnationalism. The recent interest that has developed in North American academic discourse in diasporic transnational spaces has produced a number of fine scholarly explorations. Works by Gilroy (1993), Tololyan (1991, 1996), and Safran (1991, 1999) among others, have helped to create a burgeoning field of intellectual enquiry in diaspora and diasporic transnational studies.

Much of this scholarship promotes the idea that to understand national projects in times of late modernity, one needs to move beyond the framework of the "national." In an age of globalization marked by population movements, ever more accessible communication, and cultural exchanges, it becomes plausible to argue that the "nation-state" is an oddity; that "the notion of the fixity of cultures is an illusion; and that the fashioning of homogenous societies is unrealizable, if not undesirable" (Safran 1999: 255). Today's peoples increasingly operate outside nationally defined boundaries and interests. They have long been immersed in a variety of cultural flows that circulate globally (Hannerz 1996). Further, with the ongoing development of corporate capitalism and the creation of new electronic media, communication, and transportation technologies, the national projects of those countries with significant expatriate diasporas become more and more influenced by their transnational connections.

Conversely, to understand the projects of ethnic groups living outside their historical homelands, one should also move beyond considering ethnicity within the context of the group's host land. Despite the compartmentalization of Ukrainian culture into Ukrainian-American, Ukrainian-Canadian, Ukrainian-Argentinean, and so on, Ukrainians throughout the world, burdened until 1991 by the absence of their own nation-state, have long been involved in constructing and maintaining social and cultural practices that transcended the national borders of their countries. Numerous international Ukrainian committees and organizations throughout the world confirm this claim. With the demise of the Soviet system and Ukraine's independence there have been many new economic, political, cultural, and intellectual networks developed, this time also embracing Ukrainians in Ukraine. The establishment of those new networks promote a new sense of Ukrainian identity as one that knows no borders and whose major cultural (and political) centres are located simultaneously in a multitude of places, Kyiv, Lviv, Washington, Toronto, New York, Sydney, Munich and so on.

While some transnational networking involving diaspora and Ukraine had been in place during Soviet times, it was reserved mostly for the official governmental exchanges. However, with recent global political changes, Ukrainian transnationalism takes various shapes as it unfolds in different locales. It can be observed in a multitude of sites and understood on many different levels. It can be observed on the level of politics (Ukrainian state relationships with the diaspora and their lobbying of the local governments); on the level of academic discourse (revisions of the Ukrainian intellectual heritage from the global perspective, availability of a homeland audience for the émigré intellectuals, joint intellectual initiatives (such as *Krytyka*, a literary periodical founded in Kyiv by Harvard intellectuals); and on the economic level (profit is sought by Ukrainian diaspora businessmen in Ukraine, as for example when the Toronto newspaper *Meest*, produced by the Ukrainian diaspora, was transferred to Lviv in 2000).

While Ukrainian transnationalism broadens its span at the level of institutionalized culture, what can be said about rural Ukrainian communities, such as Mundare, located far away from the urban centres where Ukrainian official culture unfolds? What are the responses of such communities to this ongoing revitalization of global Ukrainian connections?

Mundare has been part of this transnational Ukrainian culture for a long time, whether the Mundarites have been reflecting upon this or not. Its establishment, along with many other frontier settlements in the Americas marked the beginnings of a new kind of Ukrainianness, defined globally. On one hand, the monastic communities of the Basilians and Sister Servants have been actively transnational for nearly a century. Mundare was visited by the highest ranking clergy. The Basilian Fathers held major Ukrainian celebrations (such as the 950th anniversary of Christianity in Ukraine in 1938). The Mundare Basilians expanded their community by bringing in new students recruited from other Ukrainian communities nationwide and even worldwide. Their museum has become a well respected institution and has attracted many visitors to Mundare including ordinary people, dignitaries from Ukraine, and representatives of various Ukrainian organizations worldwide.

This kind of participation of Mundare Ukrainians in transnational Ukrainian networks is an example of an *institutional* (religious) network in which this locality is involved. This transnationalism may be understood in different ways by different members of the community, some of whom are not affiliated with the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Apart from the Ukrainian *institutional* transnationalism at work in this community, there is also another kind of transnational interaction, what I called above a grassroots transnationalism. It brings together ordinary people from Mundare and the old country, at times only symbolically but sometimes literally. Grassroots transnational interaction between the two localities, Mundare and Ukraine, has most often been actualized through kinship links. These links span at least two locales, Mundare and the villages from which the Mundarites' ancestors emigrated.

Grassroots transnationalism and transnational kinship are invested with various meanings by the local people. Each Ukrainian Canadian living in the area experiences his/her connection or disconnection to the "old country" differently. The majority seem not to consider the "old country" as a place where they have relatives. Others correspond with their kin in Ukraine and yet others get involved in personal interaction with their kin, either traveling to Ukraine, or by sponsoring them to visit Canada. In all the cases, the connection to the "old country" is defined either in positive terms ("yes, I have family there"), or in negative terms ("we don't have any family there anymore"). In either case, whether positive or negative, *the connection is acknowledged.*

Such acknowledgement depends to some degree on the generation of Ukrainian Canadians. One could argue, for example, that those who emigrated themselves will have strong attachments to their kin in the old country, those who were born into the family of immigrants would have less attachment, and those who would be grandchildren of immigrants would feel even less connected to the country of their grandparents' origin. In real life the picture is more complicated, for people move from town to town, some grandparents are more involved in the upbringing of their grandchildren than others, some families are more close knit, and so on.

I will not account for every kind of connection or disconnection here. What is important is that in any instance, the connection to the kin in the "old country" is acknowledged. These imaginings of the overseas kin remaining in the "old country" constitute a significant aspect of the local lifeworld of Mundare and its Ukrainianness.

But how is this transnational kinship imagined at the other end – in rural Ukraine — source of the majority of Ukrainian emigrants to Western Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century? What are the understandings of transnational kinship in Hrystevolia? I suggest seeking the answer in the different experiences of the continuity of kinship at either end of the transnational connections. In this chapter I concentrate on how overseas kin is imagined in rural Western Ukraine, although some comparisons between Mundare and Hrytsevolia are both unavoidable and useful.

In Hrytsevolia, upon the departure of family members for North America the villagers did not erase them off their kinship charts. The departed kin were still considered a part of the family, children were assigned their names in reference to the extended kin, now living across the ocean. The kin's departures were not seen as interruptive to the local lifeworld of the Hrytsevolians: the departed kin's absence was mediated symbolically, not

in order to "complete" or "finalize" the departure and cut the kin off, but to maintain the kin's presence. The symbolic connection to the overseas kin served to resist the possibility of a complete break of the kin from their family and land of origin and from the local lifeworld.

In Mundare imaginings of the kin in the "old country" were organized differently. First and most important, with the arrival of immigrants to their new homes on the prairies, they experienced a strong sense of *discontinuity* with respect to their own lives and their connection to family in their home villages. For Ukrainians arriving to Mundare, their kin were important for they were part of their lived experience which became the "past" component of their ongoing lifeworld. They had also literally changed one lifeworld for another by moving away from the established world of their home village. Throughout the decades to come, Mundare Ukrainians did not commute back and forth, like Mexicans between California and their villages in Northern Mexico in the twentieth century (Rouse 1991), or like Granadians between New York and Granada (Basch at al. 1994). Due to historical circumstances (physical distance, the wars in Europe, Soviet rule in Ukraine) the next generations almost never visited villages of their parents and grandparents. For them the kin in the "old country" moved into the domain of the imagined and the symbolic in a more drastic fashion. The "old country" became the world of their predecessors, no longer directly experienced but necessary for the existence of the local lifeworld, the world mediated by memory, representation, myth, and symbol. "old country" relatives were never parts of the personal pasts of later generations, and their memories moved from private live-worlds of individuals into the domain of the collective past. The symbolic presence of the "old country" kin mediated their absence not through "maintaining a presence" in the new world – which the "old" kin never had – but ultimately *ambivalently*: on the one hand confirming a radical break from the old by founding myths of new beginnings and a new land and a new genealogy, on the other hand necessarily relying on the symbolically empty "old country" for the very possibility of the discontinuity.

For Ukrainian families in Mundare reflecting on their history, the arrival of their ancestors to Canada marked, *in retrospect*, an important *rupture* in understandings of what are kin and what is their relationship to the kin of the old country. New experiences in Canada provided Ukrainians with new meanings of kinship. Kinship with families in Ukraine has acquired a predominantly *symbolic* meaning.

It is not surprising that family history books start their count from first immigrants. These kinships are reconstructed as a rule at the end of the twentieth century to mark out the centennial presence of the family in Canada. They have a clearly defined beginning (the great grandfathers and great grandmothers who were born in villages in Ukraine and who emigrated to Mundare or vicinity). Thus, as presented in family history books, each family is clearly rooted in the local pioneer history and in the locality. It rarely goes beyond these lines either temporally or spatially. To cross the temporal line would mean to go deeper into the history where the founders of the kin would be seen as members of larger kinship networks extending into pre-immigration Ukraine, while to cross the spatial line would mean to move geographically to the "old country" where other branches of that larger family exist today.

Thus, if for Hrytsevolians their overseas kin *continued* to be present in their lifeworld, for Ukrainian families in Mundare the kin remaining in Ukraine *did not continue* to be a part of their new Canadian genealogies. This difference constitutes a major discrepancy in how transnational kinship is understood in Ukrainian villages compared to Ukrainian settlements in Canada. In Ukraine, both branches (Ukrainian and Canadian or North American) are understood as two branches of *one* family, parallel to each other. The immigration moment did not signal a rupture in continuity. The roots of the family go deep into history; there is no clearly marked beginning of one's clan.

In Mundare, often, only the Canadian branch is recognized as the relevant kin. Family development in the "old country" after the time of separation, although explored sporadically, does not constitute a vital branch of kinship networks. No family history book I examined in chapter two above considered the parallel kinship branch that developed simultaneously in Ukraine.

The following two sections explore the meaning of imaginings of the overseas kin in rural Ukraine and the effect these meanings have on the current state of Mundare Ukrainianness. As will become clear from my discussion, these imaginings of transnational kinship strongly impact the exercise of agency of Ukrainians in Mundare, whether they are recent immigrants or Mundare "old-timers." The account of the imaginations of transnational kinship constructed in rural Ukraine would help to understand why contemporary immigrants from Ukraine assert their culture in the Mundare locality the way they do.

Given all the above, this chapter examines *the challenges Mundare Ukrainianness faces from a different version of Ukrainianness newly arrived from Ukraine*. Such discussion once again places Mundare Ukrainianness within its global context. Within this context, imaginations of Mundare Ukrainians (and North American Ukrainianness in general) and understandings of transnational kinship as they are practiced in the Ukrainian village of Hrytsevolia become an important factor in how local Ukrainianness will unfold in Mundare. With immigrants arriving from Ukraine to Mundare come their imaginations of local Ukrainianness and their expectations of kinship solidarity. Informed by these understandings, they also bring their particular way of exercising their agency. Their agency poses one of the most potent challenges to local Ukrainianness.

4.2. Mundare Ukrainianness imagined: visions from Ukraine

...dlia vas usikh, dlia titky Hanusi,
dlia vsiiei rodyny ia ziklala virsh:

Vidlitaiut' z domu leleky
I buduiut' hnizdechka svoii
Odni blyz'ko, a druhi - daleko,
Odni doma, druhi v chuzhyni

Poletiv v svit vid ridnykh daleko
Vid svoiei matusi, vid nen'ky zemli
Zbuduvav sam domivku leleka
U dalekykh kraiakh, v chuzhyni

Porodyv vin rodynu velyku
Khoch v dalekii chuzhii storoni
Ta navchyv vin liubyty tu zemliu
Iaka bula vid nykh v dalyni

Ioho ditiam, onukam, rodyni
Stala ridna chuzhyns'ka zemlia
A dumky ikhni lunut' i nyni
De isnuie bat'kivs'ka zemlia

Na zemli tii zostalos' hnizdechko
Shcho zalyshyv ikh dido kolys'
Na zemli tii zrostaie korinnia
Vid iakoho my vsi povelys'

Te korinnia mitsne i hlyboke
Rozroslosia na ridnii zemli.
Berezhut' svoiu pam'iat' kriz' roky
Ridni vashi, velyki i mali.

Ne bida shcho zhyvem tak daleko
I shcho nas rozdilaiut' velyki shliakhy
Nas z'iednav nezabutnii leleka
Na dovichne zhyttia, na viky.

... for all of you, for aunt Hanusia and
all your family I composed this poetry:

Storks are leaving the home
And are building their nests
Some of them — nearby, others — far away
Some — at home, others — in the alien world

One is gone into the world far from the kin
From his own mother, and from his mother-land
One stork built himself a new home
In the remote lands, in the alien world

And with time his family grew.
Although in the remote lands,
He had taught his children to love the land
That remained for them far away.

To his children and grandchildren, to his new kin
That alien world became their new home
But their thoughts still, until now,
Are reaching out there where their fatherland is

In that land, a nest remains,
Left empty by their grandfather
In that land, the roots have been growing
The same roots we all have come from

Those roots, deep and strong
Grew deeper in the old land
Throughout the years all your kin, big and small
Cherish the memory of the motherland

That's alright that we live so far away from each other
And that we are separated by the extended roads
We are linked through one unforgettable stork
For centuries and for eternity

A young woman in the village of Khutor-Budyliv, Sniatyn Raion, Ivano-Frankivs'ka Oblast, composed this poem for her "family" in Canada and sent it to her retired aunt in Mundare in a letter (Kalyna Berlad to Christine Pawluk. 29.02.00). The correspondence between the Berlads in Khutor-Budyliv and Christine's family in Mundare area was actively maintained for the last two decades. Letters circulated between them two or three times a year. The oldest generation of the Berlads had witnessed in the 1920s the departure of their brother. In Canada, since then, a whole new clan of relatives sprang up. The Berlads in Ukraine were mostly out of touch with their relatives in Canada until Christine's mother and others visited Khutor-Budyliv in 1982. Until that time, the Berlads' connection to their kin in Canada was fed by their imagination. The visit in 1982

is remembered in each letter coming to Mundare from the Berlads in Ukraine. In fact, the emotions from meeting the kin from Canada can still be traced in this beautifully-crafted poetic letter Kalyna wrote.

In the Berlads' next letter, Kalyna's mother asks the Canadians their opinion of Kalyna's poem. She asked Christine to translate this poem and to make it available to the rest of the family, so that they all could relate to the bonding of kinship proclaimed in the poem. Perhaps Kalyna's mother felt she had to ask for this explicitly, for the family in Ukraine had not received any commentary in reaction to this poetic statement of transnational kinship – which had been very much their expectation. Why the kin in Ukraine had these particular expectations, expectations that directly follow from their imagination of their overseas kin, is the subject matter of this section.

The discussion in this section unfolds on two levels. As an ethnographic inquiry into transnational interactions between Mundare Ukrainianness and Ukrainians in Ukraine, this section addresses the questions of continuity and discontinuity of two branches of one family separated in time and space. I argue that in generally uninterrupted local lifeworlds of the "old-country" the kin that "disappeared" into the "new world" (at the turn of the twentieth century) have never ceased to be "present" in the ongoing local life. Although over time they have moved increasingly into the past, and into the Ukraine locality's imagination as a parallel present unfolding "somewhere else," the overseas kin maintain, surprisingly, a "directly experienced" presence – to recall Schutz' terminology – that is not merely symbolic, but is involved within the local lifeworld's social and emotional reality in a meaningful way.

With distances rapidly shortening between cultures and locales in times of late modernity, the imagined and remote world of the "overseas brothers and sisters" – in our case, from the perspective of Ukraine's villages, the world of Ukrainians in Canada and the US — re-enters local lifeworlds in an unprecedented manner by means of intensified correspondence and international traveling, homecoming, and family visiting. With these recent developments the imagined overseas kin has not only been brought into the lived present of the locals, but also become increasingly projected into the future.

Although they are two sides of *one* family, each is undoubtedly involved in quite different projects when it comes to their meeting grounds. Two different kinds of imagination of each other come into play, formed by different actualities of history-at-large, different geographies, histories, and understandings of genealogy. To account for such imaginings is to find another path towards mutual understanding of people who have claims not only to each other's past, but often to each other's ongoing histories. I view this section as an attempt at bridging the differing subjectivities of the two groups, that each name themselves "Ukrainians." I offer one particular interpretation for such imaginings of the kin, as practiced in the rural world of Western Ukraine.

On the theoretical end, this section addresses the role the social practice of imagination plays in routinely organized lives. I argue that in local lifeworlds of Ukrainian villagers, the social institution of kinship has been the main means of imagining and dealing with the outside world long before new technologies of communication of the last two decades came into being, technologies that push the modern possibilities of imagination and reflexivity to a new level. I will return to this question in a moment. With regard to the

Ukrainian diaspora, in this section I argue that such local imaginings of the overseas kin have been playing a crucial role in the constructions of both local agency, and diasporic subjectivity.

Let me elaborate on how the issue of the *social practice of imagination* is addressed here. Among scholars dealing with issues of cultural practices and human agency in times of late modernity, Arjun Appadurai is known for his theory that increased global migration and advances in electronic media have caused the birth of a new "social practice" of imagination. Since the 1980s:

> ... imagination has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth, and ritual and has now become a part of the quotidian mental world of ordinary people in many societies. In has entered the logic of ordinary life from which it had largely been successfully sequestered. ... Ordinary people have begun to deploy their imaginations in the practice of their everyday lives. (Appadurai 1996: 5)

On one hand, images and ideas from all over the world and from all walks of life are becoming increasingly accessible. More people than ever can routinely imagine the possibility that they or their children will live a different life than theirs and work in places other than those where they were born. On the other hand, intensified mass migration of the second part of the twentieth century, together with the rise in accessibility of modern communication and transportation technologies have created new *migratory* audiences for the images supplied by television, electronic, and other media. Neither the moving images nor their viewers "fit into circuits of audiences that are easily bound within local, national, or regional spaces" (Appadurai 1996: 4). This mobile and unforeseen relationship between mass-mediated events and migratory audiences defines the core of the link between globalization and the modern, in which modern practices of imagination that have moved into the domain of everyday life play a crucial role. This *substantial* move of imagination into the everyday is a notably recent phenomenon, Appadurai insists, being about 20-25 years old. He names this wide-spread phenomenon the social practice of imagination. This new social practice he also holds responsible for a recently emerging sense of disruption of social life on a number of levels.

Appadurai's thesis is intriguing. It seems to apply in my own case, to the respective relations between Ukrainians in Ukraine and North America. In particular, I appreciate his insight that recent moves in global population and the onset of electronic media may be disruptive when it comes to local lifeworlds. However, in focussing upon imagination as a social practice in the context of a western Ukrainian village, I have discovered a *different pattern at work*, that not only differs from but in fact challenges Appadurai's thesis.

Addressing the large-scale social processes in times of late modernity, Appadurai sees both recently intensified global migration of the last quarter of the twentieth century and new electronic media as bearing responsibility for a new social practice of imagination. But in some localities, exposed to different workings of local, national, and global histories, these practices of imagination became a common phenomenon long before the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In the rural world of Western Ukraine, I claim, a similar kind of social practice of imagination has been in place long before the recent changes in global migration and communication technologies. The mass migration of peasants from Western Ukraine in the late 19th and early twentieth century to different parts of the globe (mainly South and North America), together with the social institution of kinship proved to be crucial factors in forming specific local practices of imagination in rural communities of Western Ukraine. In addition, letter-writing, the transferring of moneys, sending pictures, as well as rituals of home-coming, have proven as salient as more advanced technologies for promoting imagery about the outside world, which has usually been perceived by the villagers as beyond their reach.

In the Ukrainian context, the impact of technology consistently proves subordinate to social relations. Instead of the social practice of imagination being a recent phenomena that comes onto the scene through the advent of electronics and global migration patterns, it is more accurate to say that there has been a slow development of ways of imagining, based on particular historical and local events, *with kinship relations providing the underlying continuity that has driven the development of this practice of imagining.* And finally, within the local lifeworld of a Ukrainian villager this practice of imagining, while perhaps to some extent contributing to the disruption of local social life, was formulated in such terms as to remain congruous and relevant to the local lifeworld and its own mythologies. Such formulations have helped the local world to relate to the world outside in terms that are meaningful for the people in the locality. And, as evident through its development, this practice of imagining has also contributed to a growing sense of agency for the practitioners.

In this section I am concentrating on one such social practice of imagining developed from the historical split of numerous Ukrainian families into two branches, one remaining in the same rural communities for the last hundred years, the other establishing itself overseas in Canada and the US. I address the symbolic organization of the overseas kin in Ukraine's villages to illustrate the historical and cultural rootedness of *current* imaginations of the overseas kin in rural communities of Ukraine. These are the imaginations that Ukrainians often rely on when planning to engage with Canadian Ukrainians (whether these are visiting Ukraine, or Ukrainians from Ukraine are visiting Canada). By looking at the meanings of the departed kin from local perspectives, I outline the organization of local imaginations about the kin "over there" that developed over the course of a century in Ukraine's rural communities.

My interpretation is mostly based on ethnographic materials I collected during research in the village of Hrytsevolia, Lvivs'ka Oblast (May 1998 and May 1999), a small rural community located 110 km northeast of the major urban centre of Lviv. Some materials were collected in Mundare, where the descendants of earlier settlers from Hrytsevolia live.[101] In Hrytsevolia, I lived with a local family of Bakus'kos, while the head of the

[101] It is also based on the analysis of personal correspondence sent by Ukrainian villagers to their families in Canada from 1930s through 1960s and then starting in 1980s until now, to which correspondence I was granted access on most occasions. In some cases, I myself have been involved in family correspondence for several years acting as interpreter and translator for the Paranchyches families in Edmonton and in Rozhnov, Ivano-Frankivs'ka obl, whom I also visited in 1998.

household was on *zarobitky* (an "earning stay") in Mundare. In Hrytsevolia I attended local public and private events (the graduation concerts in local high school and local weddings), conducted interviews, recorded oral histories, and studied personal correspondence of Hrytsevolians and Mundarites. As a part of my involvement with people I also wrote and translated letters addressed to relatives in North America which I was to send upon my return to Canada. All these experiences contributed to my understanding of the long-distance imagination of kinship as practiced in rural areas of Ukraine.

My claim is that in rural Western Ukraine the overseas kin, and with it the social institution of kinship, played a crucial role in organizing local social practices of imagining, while the technologies of communication have been secondary. I argue that the "other" kin (Canadian, American, Brazilian, and so on) remain important, and surprisingly so, to the local culture, for they were seen as a part of a "reality," granted a special niche in the body of traditional folklore and mythology, and played a vital role in forming local agency.

In addition, in rural lifeworlds where local practices of imagination are more often governed by tradition, the notion of the kin has been subjected to a doubly complex imagination which presents the kin in dichotomous terms of departed/present, here/there, alive/dead. The continuity of such imaginations was insured by various means; a new folklore (stories about the overseas kin, fixed through repetition) and by ritual practices that mediated the departures *locally*, resolved the question of their symbolic presence versus actual absence, and mediated the return of kin into the local setting.

Before I proceed with my analysis of kinship imagination in rural Ukraine I outline the historical context in which Hrytsevolians' involvement with the world began.

Locating Hrytsevolia in history

Today, the community of Hrytsevolia consists of 165 active households with about 570 adults.[102] There are two competing religious communities, Ukrainian Orthodox and about 20 families of Stundists (Ukrainian Baptists). Surrounded by forest on three sides, the village is connected to the rest of the world by one paved road as well as a number of small forest roads each leading to equally small neighbouring communities. Although the 110 km between the village and Lviv, the cultural centre of Galician lands, may seem like a short distance to Canadians, in reality a trip to Lviv in 1998 and in 1999 was a full day project for Hrytsevolians relying on one public bus a day.

It may appear that the local lifeworld of Hrystevolia is self-contained, but this would be a false impression. Collective memory holds an image of Hrytsevolia's complex involvement in global cultural flows. In the twentieth century, Hrytsevolia was located within the borders of at least four states. Before the first world war the village belonged to Austro-Hungary. The Western Ukrainian People's Republic ruled the region in 1918. From 1921 until 1939 Hrytsevolia was part of Poland. During both world wars, the

---

[102] "Zvit po naselenniu na 01.01.99 Berezivs'koii sil's'koii rady," (01.01.1999. Population report prepared by Berezivka Rural Council). Berezivka Rural Council Archives, Berezivka, Lvivs'ka obl.

village was often at the front lines. A reminder of the first world war is a forest cemetery where 18 Austrian graves lay unattended since the retreat of Austrian troops in 1914. Neighbouring villages bear names such as *Nimets'ka mytnytsia* (German Customs), *Pol's'ka mytnytsia* (Polish Customs), *Avstriis'ka mytnytsia* (Austrian Customs). These all point to a turbulent past of alternating powers. Hrytsevolia and its vicinities often changed hands.

Within these years of wars and changing powers many Hrytsevolians emigrated. They also involved those left behind in new global flows of Ukrainian transnationalism. The Hrytsevolian "diaspora" reflects all the major stages in Ukrainian emigration from Western Ukraine spanning a century. Some families left the village for Brazil in the 1880s and 1890s. Others left for Canada at the turn of the century. In the 1920s and 1930s some commuted between the village and their respective locales of employment in North America. When they settled down, they came to be seen as the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to the New World. At the end of World War Two, many Hrytsevolia youth taken to work in Germany as *Ostarbeiters* chose to become Displaced Persons after the war and eventually immigrated to Canada and the States.[103]

With the establishment of Soviet rule in Western Ukraine in 1939, the long-existing local social structures and institutions were subjected to a new design imposed by Soviet collectivization.[104] Hrytsevolians became subjects of a new centre. There was forced involvement into collective production, either in the local collective farm (mainly women) or through work in state forestry or the brick factory (mainly men). Perspectives on the future and the need to act within the system were surely different during Soviet times when economic, political, social and cultural life was structured, regulated, and controlled by Moscow.

Part of the Soviet Centre's intrusion into local life was its attempt to control religious practices and communication with the West. Many had kin in the West and strong connections to religious communities. The 1960s in particular were the worst years. As one of my informants confessed: "We were told that we will be sent out [into exile] if we would keep writing letters to my father who lived in Canada" (Maria Smal' 05.17. 98). Prior to the 1960s, correspondence was often intensive and included money transfers and mailing of goods. Forced to cease such communication, Hrytsevolians remained mostly out of touch with their relatives for almost thirty years. The community's real, spiritual, and symbolic connection with the kin "over there" diminished in its intensity. The overseas kin moved from the domain of reality into the domain of personal and collective memories, of imagination and conversation.

The post-Soviet era brought further structural transformations into the local world of Hrytsevolia. Since 1991 Hrytsevolians' participation in the *kolhosp* (collective farm) and in state forestry has almost ceased.

---

[103] Mundare received several Hrytsevolian individuals and families during each wave of immigration. These persons were all helpful in allowing me to contact their home village on my visits to Ukraine.

[104] How local institutions, customary law, and even cultural practices were rapidly eradicated during similar collectivization efforts in rural Central Ukraine during the 1930s is vividly illustrated by oral histories recorded in 1990s by William Noll (1999).

In 1992, with the reorganization of *kolhosp* into a co-op, members of the former collective farm were each given 2 hectares of collective land. Those who used to work for the state forestry received no land. Men started looking for and finding employment outside of the village, mainly as contract workers in the construction industry, while women remained to work on their private strips of land that had grown in size from an average of 0.26 hectares per household prior to 1992 to 0.9 hectares.[105] Local politics became more complicated due to the partial redistribution of power and wealth within the locality. Those who ruled the collective farm during the Soviet time remained in power. They were joined by the local clergy and a newly-established group of merchants that started supplying the villagers with food and goods brought from Poland or warehouses in Lviv. Those who maintained interaction with the relatives in North America gained a new status as well.

Like the rest of the Ukrainian rural population, Hrytsevolians are witnesses to the stagnant politics to re-organize Ukraine's agricultural sector with its ineffectual economic reforms to date. Statistics services in Ukraine have registered a steady decline in production in the agricultural sector of Ukraine's economy.[106] As one Ukrainian economist said, the Ukrainian village is just a card in the political game of those in power (Diiesperov 1998). Hrytsevolians continue to work on the private strips of land that provide them with about 80 percent of the produce the family will consume during the year. A few families own horses: the best machinery, as the local saying goes. A few owners of small combines exchange plowing of someone else's land for skilled work they need in their households, for connections, or for gifts. The rest is done manually. When spring comes, work on the land takes twelve to fourteen hours a day, not to mention other duties around the household. With no money-based salaries or agricultural products supplied by the collective farm, as was the practice under Soviet rule, for many life has become harder.

With Ukraine gaining its independence in 1991, and with no ideological control coming from the current government, the relationship of Hrytsevolians' with the world outside has significantly revived. Some energetic and young Hrytsevolians regularly travel to Poland, Rumania, and Turkey to sell and buy produce and merchandise. They bring these items to their village, providing villagers with food for body; and for the imagination. The Ukrainian mass media supply this locality with images of the outside world and villagers are very quick to form their own opinions on world affairs. The usual day for teenaged girls in my host family in Hrytsevolia started with *Melrose Place* on television. The girls once asked me whether women in Canada are also as beautiful as those in the States. The way they imagine female beauty, in this case North American style, informed their decisions how to dress up. Young girls, ignoring the dust of the village roads, when

---

[105] "Pohospodars'ka knyha Berezivs'koii sil's'koii rady narodnykh deputativ, 1996-1999" [Household Statistics Book of Berezivka rural council of people's deputates, 1996-1999], vol. 6. Berezivka Rural Council Archives, Berezivka, Lvivs'ka obl.

[106] In 1996 there was a 30 percent decrease in yield compared to 1990. Production of such vitally crucial items like wheat and meat had dropped 50 per cent against the 1990 level while the production of potatoes, the traditional food of survival, has increased (Zhovtaniuk 1998: 63). Meanwhile the buying ability of the rural population has dropped 6 to 8 times compared to 1990 levels (Shpychak 1996: 3-12).

"going out" *na vulytsiu* ("onto the street") prefer wearing nylons, high heels, short skirts, and elaborately laced, pompous blouses of predominantly Polish origin that are available today in markets. Ironically, these global imaginations are played out by means of what is available locally. Appadurai, discussing ethnographies of late modernity, and of local experiences of global cultural orders, points out the "ongoing shrinking of the world," in which ideas, commodities, moneys, and images produced in particular locales then circulate freely around the globe transcending national and cultural borders, entering other locales, and becoming part of the local cultural terrain again (Appadurai 1991). This "deterritorialization" compresses the distances between various locales into meeting points, in which global flows are mediated locally. The compression of distance, i.e. of time and space, is assigned by cultural theorists a particular significance during late modernity and post-modernity (Giddens 1991).

When looking at the case of Hrytsevolia, however, I am constantly reminded that as a community they have been experiencing global cultural flows intensely since mass emigration in the late 19th century. For most villagers life took a new turn, marked by the separation of the kin, when the new Ukrainian lifeworld developed in a distant corner of the planet, in Canada. With Ukraine's independence in 1991, contact between the villagers and their extended kin overseas revived. Moneys are transferred from the new world to local families, parcels with second-hand goods are sent to the village regularly and in large amounts.[107] In addition to the influx of parcels and moneys, Canadian and American relatives also visit, leaving the world of Hrysevolian imagination and entering the Hrytsevolia lifeworld. My own presence in the village was perceived as another visit by someone from Canada related to Hrytsevolians. Some of my informants wanted me to take pictures of graves of their relatives so I could pass these images to their kin in Canada. Others dressed their children up in clothes from the parcel they received from Canada so I could pass photos of them back to Canadian relatives.

On the other hand, one by one, nieces and nephews, grandchildren, and even sons and daughters leave Hrytsevolia to travel to Canada or the States for a visit.[108] Hrytsevolians also come to Mundare to visit their relatives. Some of them, like the protagonist of my story in the following section, have immigrated to Mundare and settled down there with their family.

Such is the brief outline of Hrytsevolia's involvement with the outside world and with their overseas kin in North America. As I argued above, the overseas kin, and with it the social institution of kinship, played a crucial role in organizing local social practices of imagining, for they were seen as part of reality, they were granted a special niche in the body of traditional folklore, and they played a vital role in forming local agency. I claim

---

[107] *Orbit*, a shipping company in Alberta, transfers annually up to four and a half million US dollars to Ukrainians like the villagers from Hrytsevolia and sends annually up to 10 tonnes of goods in parcels. This is just one of four shipping companies in Canada (*Orbit*, *Pysanka*, *Karpaty*, and *Meest*) that targets the Ukrainian Canadian market with its population of half a million and specializes in transnational transactions and services with Ukraine. Information provided by the owners of *Orbit* company in Edmonton (Svitlana K. 03.25.99).

[108] In 1998 there were five visitors from the new world in Hrytsevolia and I encountered at least five villagers who were about to leave Hrytsevolia to visit relatives abroad.

that the continuity of these imaginations was and still is insured by new folklore and local ritual practices that mediated the departures and return of the kin *locally*. These ritual practices had to resolve the question of the kin's symbolic presence versus actual absence. The stage is now set to take a closer look at: (a) how departures overseas were interpreted locally, (b) how the dichotomy of absence/presence was mediated locally, and (c) how the rituals of return were understood locally.

Dealing with departures

Departures for Brazil, the States, and Canada occurred regularly in many Ukrainian villages in Austro-Hungary, starting from the end of the 19th century and through several decades of the twentieth century, with hundreds of thousands of villagers traveling overseas. About 170,000 of those emigrants, mostly farmers, came to Canada during the first immigration wave, between 1891 and 1914 (Tesla 1976).

In Hrytsevolia, departures overseas were a familiar part of their local life for about forty years from 1900 to World War Two. In today's village, practically every household can claim relatives in Brazil, Canada, or the States. They are sometimes grandfathers or grandmothers, but most commonly great uncles and great aunts and their descendants. *Zarobitky* ("working for money outside the village") overseas was one option among a variety of local practices of extended labour outside of the village.[109] In many cases, these departures were temporary.

Such travels became local responses to ongoing transformations in global flows of capital, the global economy, and the labour market. Yet, within the lifeworld of a small rural community whose members mostly continued to live according to the values and ethics of local tradition, global interactions were not necessarily understood well. In order to be comprehended by locals, these new "global" experiences had to be mediated locally. To be rendered as meaningful, they had to fit the existing currents of meanings that normally circulated in the locality.

Logically, from the very first departures that took place in the village, these departures were assigned meanings available to the villagers within their own repertoires of local knowledge. The disappearance of their kin and neighbours into the unknown world that lay beyond traditional understandings of the "outside" had to be mediated. With time, the regular departures of countrymen grew into a ritual of family partition.

Local meanings for these departures were already at hand in the villages. Ukrainian rural communities of Austro-Hungary, in addition to giving away their younger members into the unknown new world, had already been accustomed to giving away their youth as military conscripts to the Habsburg Empire. The twenty-five years of absence from the village and family due to military service were seen, on the community scale, as a symbolic "social death," imposed upon the family by the forces of fate, that is, by outside forces that could not be controlled. Rites of separation, as well as forms of lamenting for departing conscripts were modeled after funeral rituals. The same rites and similar

---

[109] Such as younger siblings going "*v naimy*," to work in wealthier neighbouring villages for the whole summer. See for example, Rohatynskyj (1972).

laments were utilized for departing emigrants. The same sequence of ritual practices were performed when bidding farewell to the dead, to conscripts, and to emigrants. A procession would begin, first stopping for a moment at the threshold of the house, so the deceased/departed could bid farewell to his/her home, then a similar pause would be made at the gates to the household's yard to bid farewell to one's homestead, then the procession would stop at the village borders to bid farewell to the native village. Recollections of these rights may be found in memoirs of Petur Svarich (1999: 75-80). Folk songs that were born during mass departures of the villagers overseas reveal much similarity with funeral songs, and those lamenting conscripts. I will return to their composition in a moment.

Mediating absence

Mediating the absence of the kin has been another aspect of imagining the overseas kin. This aspect is related to at least three factors. First: at the turn of the twentieth century, and in many respects even today, the Ukrainian rural community can still be viewed as a closely bound community, fitting the category of *Gemeinschaft*, of a "residual nature" which traditionally continues to see the outside world as alien, unknown, and potentially threatening. This is a vision centred on the locality, in which the locality is given the meaning of "home," familiar, and secure. Any departure was seen as dangerous enterprise, for the traveler would cross the boundaries of the known lifeworld. To maintain the balance in the symbolic organization and interplay of meanings *home/outside* and *alive/dead*, a balance which was also responsible for the continuity of a secure "home," the departed were lamented as dead.

Second: actual death was something the villagers knew how to deal with. The dead were always given a special niche in the symbolic organization of the local lifeworld through being placed at the opposing poles from *home*, *alive*, and *present*, to form the complementary categories of *outside*, *dead*, and *past*. Rituals of departure as described in literature (Stefanyk 1973 [1899]), and folklore (Hnatiuk 1902, 1903), as well as in local stories demonstrate that the departed were also treated as dying or dead, at least in symbolic terms.

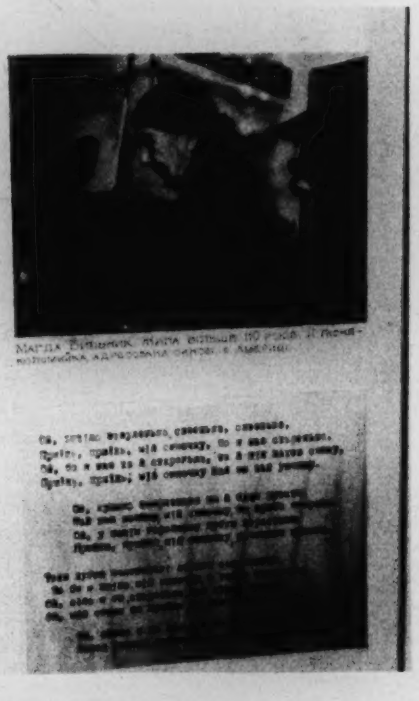
> My sister was leaving in 1976 with her children. Our dido [grandfather] was in Canada since 1937. My niece, her daughter was always saying "ty" when addressing me, although I am her aunt.[110] But we had little difference in age and we were always on "ty" terms. We went together, the whole family, to Moscow to bid farewell to them.. And then while in Moscow, one day [...] we spent in Moscow two weeks waiting for tickets [...] and then one day, that was the day they were finally leaving, [my niece] comes to me and starts talking using "vy." I stared at her and stared. Then I asked her "did you fall off the tree?! We are on "ty" terms!" Then she says to me, "I am going to "*chuzhbyna*," the alien world, and I won't see you, my dear aunt, again. So my mother said to me that I should address you proper way now, like an aunt [that is using the formal "vy"]. That's how it was." (Nadia Trach 05.10. 99)

---

[110] The singular personal pronoun *ty*, or you, is reserved in Ukrainian for those with whom interlocutor is on familiar terms. In the village culture, *ty* is not used when addressing the elder member of one's kin. The plural personal pronoun *vy* is used instead.

Such traditional folklore metaphors and motifs of death and its world, such as "crossing the water" (going into the land of dead), or "sending a cuckoo bird over the water" (an attempt of a symbolic communication with the dead), and later "sending a letter over the water" are equally employed in funeral laments, laments over army recruits, and laments over those who departed overseas. In Nebyliv, a village that prides itself on its residents being the first Ukrainians to settle in Canada, the local museum offers its own story of how departures, including especially the overseas kin, require an ongoing, continuous mediation by the villagers, attesting to how inseparable this kin is for those who stayed behind. The following song, composed by a local woman, Magda Bil'nyk, laments the forty-four year absence of her son in the same terms as locals lament their dead relatives (see figure 13):

Figure 13. Display in Nebyliv Museum of Ukrainian Emigration. Photo courtesy Kate Tichon.



Oy letila zozulen'ka, syven'ka, syven'ka
Pryid' pryid' mii synochku, bo ia vzhe staren'ka
Oy, bo ia vzhe toi staren'ka, ta i pid khatov sydzhu,
Pryid' pryid' mii synochku, nai vzhe ty uvydzhu

Oy, the cuckoo bird flew over, the grey, grey cuckoo bird
Please come, come, my dearest son, for I am old now
For I am an old woman now, sitting next to my house,
Please come, come my dearest son, let me see you already.

These motifs, of departure, crossing the ocean, corresponding with the help of a letter or a bird, overlap in local discourse with stories and conversations about the actual travels undertaken by their close kin over the big waters. Letter writing became an increasingly important means of communicating, first between the villagers and soldiers, and eventually, between the same villagers and their overseas kin. A new folk metaphor for communicating between the two worlds – the letter flying over the ocean, instead of the bird flying over the river – was created (Klymasz 1969).

Third: the absence of the kin required symbolic mediation for yet another reason, concerning the assertion and extension of the locality's agency into a new situation. While the departures of the dead and of conscripts were perceived as imposed on the

family by the forces of fate and beyond control, the travels overseas were a direct outcome of human agency in response to an external situation. As such the travels were understood as the result of the individual's will (where men were concerned); or of a family decision (where women were concerned). In the case of those first emigrants the world outside, while dangerous, was also perceived as potentially beneficial and worth exploring. This personal will to give up the security of home for better prospects in the dangerous outside threatened the accepted symbolic organization of the local lifeworld.

On one hand, the kin never ceased to be alive and "real." On the other hand, they entered the domain of myth, legend, and ritual, thus constituting a symbolic horizon of the ongoing local life. This split of the family into *here* and *there* challenged the symbolically balanced local imaginings of the world, encoded in such dualities as *here: good* versus *there: bad*, and *present: alive* versus *absent: dead.*

These disruptions in the traditional imagination of the locality and the outside world were later given an additional impetus. Many of those who went overseas in the early 1900s returned to their homes for good after spending up to ten years abroad. With them came stories, new imagery of "the land of milk and honey," and material confirmations of its existence. Maryntsiunia Smal' grew up in the 1920s and 1930s, like many other children in the area, without her father, for he was off to Canada for *zarobitky*. "When he came back in 1929, I was eight years old. I was told this was my father. So, I said father to him. I didn't know him, I never saw him" (Maria Smal' 05.17.98). As in the case of other families, Maryntsiunia's father *fasuvaly* (or transferred his earnings) back to Hrytsevolia while working abroad. "Dad was sending us some money. My mother bought new land. When he came back he bought horses too. He brought other things, too. I remember nice shiny shoes, shoes from Canada." Maryntsiunia's father also built a house which is locally known as the Canadian house. Maryntsiunia shared with me, "father build this house like many ones he built in Canada while he was there working as a construction worker. Such a funny house" (Maria Smal' 05.17.98). Indeed this house structurally is very different from those locally built, and the village elders alluded to how much laughter it caused when they were observing it being built (figure 14).

The return of relatives such as Maryntsiunia's father, and temporary visits of others, re-entered local discourse as fixed and quite developed stories (memorats). Recycled both within and outside the particular families concerned, they contributed to the local folklore, each time updating local imaginations of the overseas kin and its world. In Hrytsevolia, I happened to hear the same story of Maria's father's arrival twice. Maria, having forgotten that she once told me the story in 1998, told it again the next year. Twice she presented me with the same narrative and twice placed an emphasis over the same particular moment in the story. Her storyteller's techniques, and the usage of the present tense suggest that the episode she described has become a part of the family and village folklore:

> One day I was in the house. Someone comes by. He asks me, where is you father? I tell, in Canada. Then he asks me again. Where is you mother now? She is in the field, I say. He asks me thirdly. When will she be back from the field? I say to him, when she will get hungry. Then she will be back. So, my mother comes. And I tell her, mom, some kind of a man is here. My mother comes to the man, takes his hat off (here Maria paused for a while), looks at his head, and they just start kissing and kissing (another pause and eye contact with the listener). See, my mother took the hat off to see whether the man was bald. And he was bald. So, he was *toi samyi*, the same one. That was my father. (Maria Smal' 05.17.98)[111]

Maria's father was away until 1937 when he returned after a total of 16 years of *zarobitky* in Canada spread over the course of 23 years. His money transfers to the locality was on one hand an example of the socioeconomic practice of global-local interaction, while within the local context this was seen as a logical act of sustaining one's own family. Such economic practices, of course, reflected and maintained long-term conventions about the individual's responsibility to the family.

Figure 14. Maryntsiunia Smal' and the "Canadian house." Hrytsevolia 1998.

Western Ukraine became a Soviet republic in 1939, followed by the Second World War, followed by the cold war. At that time no one returned. Regularly sent letters became the only source for local imaginations of the unfolding lives of their distant kin. Often letters were accompanied with money, which constituted material proof of the better world that the kin inhabited. The generation of actual sisters and brothers, separated from each other, was aging, and the next generation of cousins had to contend with a growing distance between the kin here and there. With each following generation the blood relations thinned – from separated sisters that grew up with each other, to cousins, then to second cousins who have saw each other – and the original shock and pain of separation became dull. Still, maintained by folklore, the image of the ever-present and reliable kin that should not forget those left behind remained.

During the Cold War years, villagers were told not to dare to write their relatives abroad. While obeying the orders coming from "above" for fifteen or twenty years they cherished their overseas kin in private. The brutal intrusion of the state into the private affairs of

[111] Another variation of this story I heard in a year (Maria Smal' 05. 21.99).

villagers of Western Ukraine has in some respects had the opposite effect; not only did it not prevent the memories from fading but even inadvertently strengthened the kin connection. The attempt to obliterate the other kin from the real horizons of local family lives fostered new sentiments and attachments securing the kin even stronger positions in the world of the imaginary.

The rituals of return

Figure 15. Hrystevolia funeral, 1960(?). Photo courtesy Hanna Pyvovarchuk.

The 1970s, while still a time of Soviet control, introduced a new cultural practice of "home coming," or more accurately, "sneaking home." After decades of non-communication and a half century of absence. American and Canadian kin were allowed to tour the country of their ancestors. Tours, however were rigidly controlled and the regions of western Ukraine were declared out of bounds for foreigners. While on the tour, the tourists often secretly met their extended village kin outside of their hotels. In such cases it was not uncommon for every member of the extended kin from the village to come and meet their cherished kinsmen from abroad. North Americans showed up in the villages for very brief visits, sometimes just for fifteen minutes, or managing to escape for a day from the *Intourist*-organized and KGB-patronized excursions.[112] For the overseas kin, those were times of anxiety (and excitement), sneaking out early in the morning from their Lviv, Chernivtsi, or Ivano-Frankivsk hotels, to hide behind the taxi driver and head to their ancestral village, or the village of their parents, or grandparents. Often

Figure 16. Return of Liusia Shelast to Hrytsevolia from Mundare, 1966(?). Photo courtesy Hanna Pyvovarchuk.

[112] *Intourist* is an abbreviated form of the Foreign Tourism Ministry, a Soviet government office solely responsible for the organized foreign tourism in the USSR.

they were pursued, as I was told, by the KGB or militia agents whose task was to prevent them from traveling to unauthorized locations.

For the villagers, these happenings were additional stories in their locally cultivated mythologies of the world, stories of the actual – and consequently, very symbolic – return of those mythical others, who inhabited an imagined and unreachable world "over there."

Such returns appeared to be the next logical step in the scheme "departure-absence-return." They were as well-attended as the rites of partition, be they funerals like one which took place in Hrytsevolia in 1960 (see figure 15), or farewell get-togethers (figure 16). The returnee was given as much attention as the departed. In the 1966 picture, for example, you can see that even the rare excitement of being photographed did not take people's attention away from the visitor from the *chuzhbyna*, the alien world.

The visitors would leave behind material evidence of their existence and of their brief descent upon the village. Suitcases of goods and presents would be brought and distributed among the kin whose numbers were always growing over time.[113] With their brief emergence in the flesh, in leaving the mythic horizons of the local world to enter it in actuality, especially during the 1970s, new imaginings arose, imaginings not only about what was beyond the local and the national, but imaginings precisely about local futures and local possibilities. These were just precursors to the experiences of the late 1980s and 1990s when rituals of "sneaking home" grew into rituals of "home-coming" and "home-staying." Soviet and later post-Soviet travel restrictions were relaxed and foreign travelers were allowed to openly travel to rural western Ukraine. American and Canadian relatives started organizing special "home-coming" trips, with their kin villages becoming the primary destination and reason for such trips.

Conclusions

In this section, by looking at the meanings of the departed kin from local perspectives, I offered one interpretation of how the overseas kin have been imagined over the course of a century in western Ukraine's rural communities. Those who left the villages a hundred years ago, and importantly, their offspring in *chuzhbyna* — that is, in North America, and including Mundare — have continued to be understood as a vital branch of local kinship networks back in Ukraine. This is why the Berlads were eagerly awaiting the response from Canada with respect to the poem composed by Kalyna. They have been seeing Mundare relatives as a part of their own family, while perhaps, the family in Mundare does not consider the Berlads to be the kin to the same degree.

I have also attempted to demonstrate that the social phenomenon of imagination is of different historical and causal origin than was suggested by Appadurai. Instead of the social practice of imagination being a recent phenomenon that comes onto the scene

---

[113] The scale of such landings is not comparable to the arrival of cargo ships to the Pacific islands which were believed to be sent by local gods. Besides, they concerned only those with particular kin relations. Still, some similarity in symbolic applications in these two cultural phenomena can be traced. Like European sailors who personified local mythologies of the islanders in the Pacific and whose comings awakened dreams about better futures, the rarely-seen and highly cherished overseas kin also personified locally imagined mythic landscapes.

through the advent of electronics and global immigration patterns, it is more accurate to say that there has been a slow development of ways of imagining, based on particular historical and local events. There is a difference between Appadurai's thesis and my own findings in terms of times (Appadurai stresses the mass migrations of the last quarter of the twentieth century, while emigration from western Ukraine to North America took place at the end of the 19th and throughout the decades of the twentieth centuries) but especially a disagreement over Appadurai's emphasis on the importance of technology in determining the new social practice of imagination. In the one case of Hrytsevolia that I consider in this section, i.e., in the case of the relationship between rural communities in Western Ukraine and their kin in North America, the social institution of kinship provided the underlying continuity that has driven the development of the social practice of imagining the other kin and their world, whereas technology served as the means. In the context of everyday life, in the context of common people's experiences, social relations prove salient in how local practices of imagination are organized. In my account, then, technology proves subordinate to social relations.

The question nevertheless remains how this social practice of imagination contributes to human agency, and in my case, to the agency of common Ukrainians in the context of the political changes of the last decade. This is an important question, for with Ukraine's independence, transnational connections between Ukrainians in the world and those in Ukraine became renewed not only at the level of official culture but on the level of everyday life. Added to the rituals that mediated departures are rituals of return that mark the welcoming of the overseas kin back to the lived present of the locals.

With the prolonged political instability and economic decline in rural Ukraine, with the rediscovery of Ukraine by diasporic communities, and with renewed possibilities of traveling outside the now-dissolved Soviet Union, the overseas kin is routinely projected into the futures of Ukrainian villagers. These futures are imagined now as unfolding not exclusively locally but trans-locally.

I have touched upon only one aspect of the whole complex of relationships between the cultures of homeland and those in diaspora. Different imaginings of the kin in Ukraine, and imaginings of Ukraine itself have been unfolding in Canada where Ukrainians settled a century ago. With Ukraine's independence much of the Ukrainian-Canadian imagination of itself, and of its relationship to Ukraine, needs to be reformulated. And while on the level of institutionalized culture, transnational brotherhood and friendship have been glibly pronounced, in the context of the non-institutionalized culture and its everyday practices, one may encounter a whole spectrum of reactions and relationships. Even if these are often neglected by ideologues and academics, these imaginings practiced in the context of everyday life shape much of the collective subjectivity of the groups.

In the following section I return to Mundare which has also become an active site for such contacts between ordinary Ukrainians for the last decade. Mundare Ukrainianness is nowadays experienced and judged by traveling Ukrainians from Ukraine. Some of these Ukrainian visitors come to visit the local Mundare museum as part of their itinerary while in Canada, while others stay for prolonged periods of time with their Canadian

relatives in the Mundare area. Some have settled in Mundare for good, like the Pivovarchuks, the main figures of the following section.

4.3 *Zustreech* and new negotiations of Ukrainianness in Mundare

In my introductory section to this chapter I raised the question of how Mundare Ukrainianness is challenged by those who recently migrated from Ukraine to this locality. It happened that among many other newcomers from Ukraine to the Ukrainian bloc, the Pivovarchuk family settled down in Mundare permanently, while others did the same elsewhere in the bloc.[114] The Pivovarchuks' story is illustrative of how the kin from Ukraine brought with them their own understandings and visions of what "true" Ukrainianness should be. Like many others in Ukraine, they had known of their kin in Canada and kept in touch with them prior to immigrating. Bogdan Pivovarchuk was born and raised in Hrytsevolia and had been as exposed to the local discourse on "them over there" as anyone else in the village. His own Hrytsevolia family have relatives in the Ukrainian bloc (Hrytsevolians say, "in Canada" or even, "in *Ameryka*") (Hanna Pivovarchuk 05.08.98). Bogdan remembers that as a child, he visited the houses of those Hrytsevolians who later ended up in Mundare. While studying in Lviv he married Iryna. They remained in the city where they raised their two children until perestroika opened the possibility for them to visit Canada, then later emigrate. Their connections to Bogdan's uncle in Canada became quite significant. Upon emigrating to Canada, they first came to Lamont where his uncle lived. In 1993, an employment opportunity brought them to Mundare where they bought a house.

This chapter is based on the individual agency of Bogdan and Iryna Pivovarchuk. Both are overwhelmingly hospitable, social, open, energetic, loyal to their homeland Ukraine and her culture, and nostalgic for "things done the way they are done in Ukraine" as Iryna repeats from time to time. Their personalities, among other things, have played a crucial role in determining the direction, content, activities, and the spirit of the cultural organization *Zustreech* they set up in Mundare two years after settling in town. *Zustreech* ("meeting") was intended to bring together people who, like the Pivovarchuks, were detached from their own culture and their own circles of friends and family back in Ukraine. It was meant, originally (although this is not the official statement that later repeats itself from one pamphlet to another), to provide such people with the venue to practice their own culture. The Pivovarchuks provided themselves with new meaning for their life in their new home. As Iryna would repeat, "we started it [the society] in order not to die out of boredom."

However, their personalities are not solely responsible for later reverberations within Mundare with regard to the Ukrainian Cultural Society *Zustreech*. When the Pivovarchuks arrived to Mundare they brought with themselves a distinct mentality that

---

[114] There were at least two other attempts to settle in Mundare made by two Ukrainian families. A limited job market pushed them out. There are families, individuals, and wives who emigrated from Ukraine practically in every other town in the bloc.

had developed while they in Western Ukraine during times of Soviet rule. I deliberately avoid labeling, one way or another, their pre-dispositions, values, and orientations as "Soviet Ukrainian," though for the convenience of communication some kind of titling is needed. Their values, their understandings of how to live one's life, how to interact with others, and how to promote their own culture which they value and cherish, have been formed at the intersection of several historical processes.

First, being of village background, both have been exposed to the vitality of traditional values as still practiced in the rural Ukraine: respect for family and kin, respect for hard physical work, the distribution of gender roles, love for singing, and so on. Second, coming of age in Soviet Ukraine, both have learned to live with the "double talk" of Soviet ideologists. During Soviet times they learned to see and recognize the value of a Ukrainian traditional culture and its vitality for Ukrainians' cultural, and later national, identity. This understanding and love for folk culture they would bring with them to Canada. At the same time the exposure to the means the Soviet ideologists used to promote their Soviet cause (public rituals, staged celebrations, and organized cultural festivities) left its mark on the Pivovarchuks' understanding of how to assert their own Ukrainian culture. The results of such exposure will be played out later, in the means they would choose to assert their Ukrainian culture in Canada.

Third, willingly or not, the Pivovarchuks seemed to be always engaged in transnational imaginations of Ukrainians overseas. This was the case when the Soviet ideology promoted the international brotherhood of Ukrainians worldwide in terms of proletarian brotherhood. This remained the case when pro-national movements during perestroika Ukraine and later in the independent Ukraine, , the political leaders began redefining this proletarian brotherhood in terms of the *national* unity of all the Ukrainians in the world. These ideological representations of Canadian and other Ukrainians as brothers and sisters somewhat corresponded to imaginings of the overseas Ukrainians that the Pivovarchuks had known from their own family experiences. The myth of transnational kinship had been already practiced – albeit on different premises – by Western Ukrainians such as them outside either the Soviet or the nationalist ideological discourses. Many had real kin "there." With the understanding that Ukrainians in the world are as much Ukrainians as they were in Ukraine, the Pivovarchuks entered the local cultural scape of Mundare Ukrainianness.

In this section I address how these understandings are lived and played out in the organizational work of the *Zustreech* society. The society organizers meant this term to refer to the meeting of people, who by virtue of emigration have been separated from their Ukrainian homes and who needed to find some space for themselves while adapting to Canada (Bogdan Pivovarchuk 17.03.98). In the broader context, *Zustreech* can be understood as a metaphor and for another kind of meeting: the phenomenon of cultural contact and the processes of identity negotiation. Participating in the organizations' activities over three years, becoming friends with its many members, and staying with the Pivovarchuks on numerous occasions, I have seen how diverse were the interpretations of Ukrainian culture. I have also noted that the understandings and practices of Ukrainianness have had diverse relationship with established Mundare Ukrainianness.

By looking at *Zustreech* and its activities, I consider the question of how two kinds of Ukrainianness are negotiated today. The characteristics of Ukrainianness promoted by *Zustreech* provoke both positive and negative reactions. The meeting of the two kinds of Ukrainianness is rather a collision of values, mentalities, imaginings, and understandings. The arrival of kin from the "old country" presents challenges to Mundare Ukrainianness.

Any negotiation of identities and cultures is a process unfolding in time and space that therefore needs to be accounted for over the long term. I have been lucky to be involved with *Zustreech* from 1997 through to 2001. The time span of my involvement with the Pivovarchuks and their society, or *soosietee* as they say in their Ukrainian, provides my understandings of their life and work with a temporal perspective. My original intention, to discuss cultural collision as today's process, changed. Aware of the changing nature of any prolonged contact between the two cultures, I now would like to pose a different question, which better addresses my overall concern about the local Ukrainianness of Mundare as a territorialized culture of its own kind now becoming more and more open to new transnational cultural flows.[115]

Through analyzing the *Zustreech* agenda diachronically I seek to understand the interaction between local Ukrainianness and homeland Ukrainianness as promoted by *Zustreech* in 1997-1999. Did *Zustreech* Ukrainianness, or in other words this kind of Ukrainianness from Ukraine, have any affect on local understandings and practices of Ukrainianness? Has this contact between two cultures with the same name been producing some kind of a fused common sense of Ukrainianness on local grounds, or not? To address these questions I briefly discuss *Zustreech*'s beginnings, understandings of its initiators of what a cultural organization should be, their involvement with locals, non-locals, and visiting Ukrainians from Ukraine. I also look at how, over the course of three years, they have changed a particular cultural event, *Obzhynky*, which they introduced into the local calendar of cultural events and which is seen by many as their trademark. Interspersed throughout my discussion are other voices, mainly of Bogdan and Iryna. Much of our communication remains our private affair, but some conversations were officially interviews, and excerpts from those accompany my own writing.[116]

Zustreech *beginnings*

B. You 're asking how did it all begin? When [some] Yugoslavs arrived, I mean Ukrainians from Yugoslavia, when there was the war in Bosnia there, so they were all looking for ...

I ... those were people from the village, they needed to stick together somehow.

---

[115] I mean here, the kind of Ukrainianness that has developed on the Canadian prairies in small towns within the "Borscht Belt" of Canada. The kind of Ukrainianness that is independent from the official Ukrainian Canadian discourse and its ideological emphasis on Ukraine-the-homeland being the source and cradle of Ukrainian culture. And also, the kind of Ukrainianness that does not escape today's challenges of the ongoing globalization of the Ukrainian cause.

[116] With Iryna and Bogdan we always converse in Ukrainian, yet, some English words made their way into their Ukrainian and became part of their repertoire. In such case I transliterate them to reflect Bogdan and Iryna's way of using these words in their Ukrainian.

B. ... they also wanted to meet us.
N. Where were they, here in Mundare?
B. In Edmonton. So they wanted somehow, to meet, to celebrate birthdays, and simply to hang out together. They once came to Mundare and saw *Ukraina* park, which is a nice place, so we began to meet there.
N. I see... so... when was that?
B. Eh, it was 1993, 1994. So, we started those meetings in the park, so to speak, just like that.
I. Everybody was coming with his/her own *baniak*, jar of food.
B. Everybody was bringing something of their own. We used to buy a pig, baked it right there, one huge pig for *barbeekiu*, rotated it on the fire, ate, then danced. Those boys, there were *Haydamaky* band, played, we all had fun. It was always a good time for us then. Everybody was happy ... we would hang out until the next morning ... But it was always like, Bogdan you organize this, you set it up, you get this, you get that..
I. Because you are here!
B ... you make arrangements with the park, you get this. So I see, that everything practically becomes my responsibility.
...
I So it all began from there. And also, we began to hear some complaining that we are making money out of these meetings and getting rich.
B ... and then ...
I ... then he officially registered this and then...
B ... and then [regarding the name *Zustreech*] I was thinking... we all met here, Ukrainians from Yugoslavia, their grandparents and great grandparents ... their roots are from Western Ukraine, Polish Ukrainians as well, even *korinni* or "native" Ukrainians started to come out, [*Bogdan uses the trope* korinni *(rooted) to refer to local Ukrainians born in Canada*].
I [...] all the immigrants came together, those who still remember our collective *subotnyky* and with exclamations "hurrah" dived into work.[117]

Of course, in their official publications *Zustreech* referred to their beginnings in a different, more reflected, way. In their early public statements, they acknowledge: "*Zustreech* ... is interested in preserving and creating a greater cultural awareness of Ukrainian traditions, and celebrations, (particularly in song, dance, traditional Ukrainian instruments, theatrical plays, literature, and language)."[118] Early years of their work were years of high enthusiasm to which Iryna refers as *holyi enthusiasm* (unabashed enthusiasm, or literally, naked enthusiasm). It produced the intention to have a *Zustreech* newsletter published monthly and widely distributed in the area. Other intentions included short term plans, "to create a cultural awareness about our heritage, traditions, celebrations. i.e. hosting popular celebrations and events such as a Shevchenko

[117] Interview March 2001. In the last line Iryna refers to the original enthusiasm that she parallels to ostensibly enthusiastic times of first communist public cleaning days, *subotnyks*, when the entire Soviet population would come out and do major spring cleaning of cities and towns. With Lenin's death in 1924, these *subotnyks* were held on or around April 22, Lenin's birthday.
[118] As an example, in 1997, their advertisement appeared in ACUA VITAE, a bi-annual publication of the Alberta Council for the Ukrainian Arts. Vol. 6, No. 1 June 1997, p. 7.

celebration, Christmas/Easter celebrations, Independence of Ukraine, *Obzhynky* etc." There were also noble long term goals. "To create a Ukrainian Centre in Mundare attracting neighbouring communities such as Lamont, Vegreville, Andrew, Smoky Lake and others. Through the cultural Center we hope to coordinate and offer Ukrainian dancing lessons, instruction in traditional Ukrainian instruments, theatrical plays, literature and language" (*Zustreech* 1997: 1).

Despite the fact that Ukrainian Canadians were seen by the newcomers as the same Ukrainians as they themselves were, the Pivovarchuks were convinced that "true" Ukrainian culture had died out in the town. In 1997 and in 1998 Bogdan was preoccupied with the idea to set up *narodna shkola*, a school of *folk* art, or school of *national* arts,[119] in order to initiate local children into what he understood as the world of Ukrainian folk arts. During early *Zustreech* cultural events, public appeals to the locals to support this project were made (as it was during the *Obzhynky* in 1997). The two of us spent hours discussing this issue in 1998. Notice Bogdan's usage of "people," or "everybody" (meaning Ukrainians), "they" (meaning local Ukrainians), churches (meaning Ukrainian churches) etc.:

B. In larger cities, such as Edmonton, people have some cultural programs, some contacts [with each other]. And here in our area everything is still. They only know, in terms of religion, yes they will go to their churches. Religious life is sort of going on here, so so. But still, the youth keeps away, they don't understand anything Ukrainian anymore. So our organization, *Zustreech*, we don't distinguish ... we have members, [e.g.] Iegovah [Jehovah] witnesses ... we don't care of what kind of [religious] faith people are. They could believe in what they want, but important thing is that they should believe in our tradition, *narodna tradytsiia*, folk tradition. [...] everybody celebrates Christmas, right? Everybody celebrates Easter, be they Catholics or Orthodox, so we don't emphasize. [...] Though in Mundare, because I am an Orthodox, they look at me a bit differently, through some kind of a prism. I don't say it makes a big difference, but there is such a thing. [...]
This boundary exists, I mean confessional boundaries.

N. I see.

B. And secondly, they don't know ... first they were coming ... they don't know what they play themselves. ... If you'd be singing the song, the song which is not "born" in Canada, but was born in Ukraine, the folksong I mean, and it is not sung here, they will be looking at you and would tell you "this is *ne nasha* song, not our song" [Bogdan's interpretation of this *ne nasha*, appears to mean to him more than just "not ours," but almost like not Ukrainian, for he is visibly unsettled by this while speaking].
And also, often they ask us, Ok, they have already seen *bandura (a musical instrument)* and how we [*Zustreech* performers] play it. But as for violin, not once they were asking, young ones, do you people play these instruments back home? They didn't even know that the violin and *tsymbaly* (Ukrainian musical instrument) have originated in Ukraine. They don't know that these [instruments] their

[119] The trope *narodnyi* is translated into English as 'folk', or as 'national', depending on the context. The Ukrainian word *narodnyj* combines the meanings of both, national and folk, and is best translated as 'pertaining to a people', with all the layers of meanings one can attach to it in various circumstance (Shostak 1999).

grandfathers and great grandfathers brought over here from Ukraine. And therefore, our task ... youth doesn't know that *tsymbaly* and violin are Ukrainian *narodni*, folk instruments. In all the area here, in Smoky Lake, Saint Paul, Myrnam no child is playing these instruments! [*Bogdan raises his voice considerably, showing his surprise over such a state of things*]
Therefore we intend to apply... we got papers for grant application from the Alberta Council for the Arts ... [for the Ukrainian school of folk arts]. [Children] are seeking adventures here all the time, cigarettes, vodka, all kinds of grass. Within two years that we are here I know of five accidents ... children 15-16 years old, which died in car accidents ... because of alcohol. They don't have anything to be inspired by, interested in. Parents are interested in money, ... and kids are practically gone out of any control. Not all of them, of course, but I can say, seventy percent of them.
We have to get those kids interested in something... Let it be some sort of contemporary music, let it bang-bang-bang, but it shall be Ukrainian. Let it be just a little bit of folk music there, if they want to have their pop music, let it be. They won't go loose then.
And if we make our school [of folk arts] .. without such school we can't go anywhere. Then we would have people trained there ... We would have enough to do all kinds of things, *Vertep* [ttraditional Ukrainian Christmas drama puppet theater, or later mummers' performance], and for caroling we could organize... *Ivana Kupala* [celebrations of summer solstice]. Then we would have had some base with which one could work. In summer time, we could have concerts, we would travel. So kids will see other places than their town.
... This school should not be just music school, it should be *narodna*, [here the trope *narodna* clearly means "national"] school. These kids know nothing about Ukraine, absolutely nothing!. ... We could have had some story telling there, some history classes, to explain them such different things, to tell them what is Ukraine like, so they have something to imagine. And it should be free of charge to the kids.

N. This also interests me as well, how people here see Ukraine ...

B. Absolutely! Now they hear more about Ukraine, but still they have no idea about Ukraine and how it is like there. Those Ukrainians in Ukraine, and those here in Canada should be one whole, but they are like scattered glass. They, Ukrainians in Canada, tell me, this is us who are Ukrainians, you, over there, are no more... (01.14.98).

Bogdan's dreams, based on his imagining Mundare people as a part of a larger whole, have not been realized. As well, his intentions to establish a school that would instruct local children in Ukrainian music, culture, history, and tutoring in folk instruments failed. Four years later (in 2000) I heard nothing about the *narodna shkola* from Bogdan.

In addition to nurturing plans to teach local kids "everything about Ukraine" during their initial years, *Zustreech* introduced into the local calendar of cultural events a number of events that were clearly a novelty to the area. These were: *Vertep*, a tradition of Christmas theatrical performance, or a puppet theater (held in 1997, 1998); Shevchenko days, celebrating the "spirit of the greatest son of our Land, the poet who gave his life for the freedom of Ukrainian people" (held in 1997);[120] *Maiivka*, or *Vesnivka*, or spring celebrations rooted in the pagan mythology of Ukrainians (1997, 1999); *Ivana Kupala*, summer solstice celebrations (1997); Ukraine's Independence Day, celebrating post-

[120] From Bogdan Pivovarchuk's speech, *Zustreech* Annual Meeting. March 7, 98.

Soviet Ukraine and her status of an independent country as of August 1991 (1995, 1997); *Obzhynky*, harvest celebrations (1996, 1997, 1998, 1999); and St. Mykolai's day, celebrating the arriving of the traditional Ukrainian version of Santa Claus (1997). Some of those events attracted more than three hundred guests, others were attended by no more than fifty participants. But even if they were not widely attended, these events clearly entered the local cultural scape as yet another possibility for locals to go out and socialize.

Figure 17. Zustreech Christmas Performance. 1998.

Not only content of these events was new to the communities in the Ukrainian bloc.[121] They were new in form as well. From the beginning these events were organized in the form of a concert, with a Master of Ceremonies, a comprehensive cultural program involving theatrical improvisations, performances addressing the subject of each event, group and individual singing, poetry recitations, and even some audience participation. It was self-understood to *Zustreech* organizers that all the events were to be conducted in Ukrainian, for "wherever you look, in Andrew, here in Mundare, Smoky Lake, Vegreville, these are all Ukrainians here!" (Bogdan Pivovarchuk 01.14.98).

The organizers not only meant to re-introduce "real" Ukrainian culture into Mundare ("they are not real, *spravzhni*, Ukrainians here anymore!") but they also attempted to install on local grounds quite a distinct *style* of celebrating Ukrainian culture. The style was the one they were themselves familiar with, and thus the only style available to them for promoting their cultural agenda. This style depended on utilizing special folk events scripts, or *narodni stsenarii*, written by professional event script writers. Someone like myself, who also lived through the Ukraine of Soviet times, recognizes the style as a very familiar cultural practice, as something practiced back "home" when Ukraine and Ukrainians were experiencing a brief renaissance of Ukrainian culture and national consciousness in the 1980s, in times of perestroika and earlier.

This returns the discussion to my observation above that the Pivovarchuks' personal agency stems from their experiencing a variety of historical processes, mentalities and ideologies produced by these processes within Ukrainian, and particularly Western Ukrainian, society prior to their arrival in Canada.

---

[121] Local old timers, like Marsha Weleschuk (Zustreech book of comments, Obzhynky 98), recollects similar kinds of activities back in the 1940s and earlier, finding some similarity between what Zustreech does and what their Ukrainian choirs and theatre groups did generations ago.

The historical roots of Zustreech' cultural practices

The Pivovarchuks, the early ideologues of *Zustreech*, most likely do not realize how much their ways of promoting Ukrainian culture are rooted in the variety of cultural and ideological traditions of their homeland, and the region they are originally from. On the one hand, being born Ukrainians in Western Ukraine (which was never a part of the Russian Empire and was among the last territories to join the Soviet Union, and therefore the least subjected to Russification and Sovietization politics), they were privileged over other Ukrainians to have a "better" memory of their "national" heritage, that is folk culture and the national idea in general. On the other hand, while they saw the Ukrainian folk and national, *narodna*, culture as oppressed by Soviet rule, they do not escape Soviet influence in their ways of promoting this culture. This was true still in Soviet Ukraine, and also later in Canada.

To some extent, Soviet ideologues treated the folklore of various peoples within the country's borders with some respect, seeing it not so much as a product of national cultures, but as the means for constructing a new, Soviet nation (Shostak 1999). Folklore, seen as a product of the working masses, was given much room in Soviet propaganda. As early as the 1930s (and for Western Ukraine, with its annexation to the USSR, since 1945), folk traditions were appropriated by *agitcult* brigades (special "propagating cultural brigades," groups staging amateur political art) who developed new, uniquely Soviet kinds of propaganda. As a result, within the former Soviet republics, some village rituals were sanctioned to survive as officially-staged Soviet rituals, while others were obliterated. New institutions of higher education were established, i.e. institutes of culture, where students were trained to become *kerivnyky khudozhn'oi samodial'nosti* (leaders of amateur arts and performance). Upon their graduation they would be assigned to work in Soviet halls of amateur art. These halls were established in almost every rural and urban community throughout the Soviet Union. Their activities first paralleled the traditional non-staged folk culture within the local contexts, and later in many cases superceded them.

Within this context a Soviet tradition was born, that of composing new scripts for numerous public holidays and folk-like calendric celebrations. These scripts, also known as *stsenarii narodnykh sviat* [people's holidays scripts], were written by professionals specially trained "in culture" who would use their poetic skills to put together ideologized stanzas aimed at propagating various aspects of Soviet culture. These scripts were published in a large variety and were available from Soviet bookstores. Whenever the school or local artistic group was to set up a performance related to any holiday, they would get such a *stsenarii* and stage it. If some wanted to be more creative they could "create" their own script by poetry, rhymed lyrical philosophizing composed on the subject matter, citations from famous individuals, or songs, and organize them into a new script. Much of what was included into such official holiday scripts was recited in a poetic form, with rhyming lines, which made the script easier to memorize. The first such *stsenarii* were launched in the 1930s. The tradition of staging *narodni sviata* (people's holidays), as well as the production of such *stsenarii* were well established throughout the republics in Soviet times, with the large network of peoples' halls of amateur arts utilizing these scripts in their own artistic work.

Ironically, this Soviet practice of promoting Soviet culture survived the Soviet Union's demise in Ukraine, and was even revitalized when Soviet ideology was giving way to the rising spirit of Ukrainian nationalism. In the mid 1980s with Gorbachev's perestroika, folklorists and other specialists of Ukrainian culture began to develop a new series of publications of "people's holiday scripts." This time however, such publications were clearly pro-Ukrainian and nationalist. The scripts of exclusively Soviet holidays became obsolete. New scripts, now promoting earlier unsanctioned celebrations, such as Christmas, Malanka, Iordan [Epiphany], and other folk rituals (still remembered in the villages), were hastily composed. Other holiday scripts such as those for *Obzhynky*, or Harvest celebrations, were promptly upgraded to suit the new national spirit. Yet, while open references to Sovietness, Lenin, the international proletarian brotherhood, the struggle for peace in the whole world, and other cliches typical of Soviet propaganda discourse were taken out, the formulas, the structure of most of these celebrations, the language, and the style of pathos, remained the same as it was practiced in Soviet Ukraine.

It is not surprising that the Pivovarchuks' prolonged exposure to the Soviet style of discursive ideological methods left its mark on their understanding of how to assert their Ukrainian culture in Canada. Theirs was clearly a different vision of how culture is to be promoted compared to local celebratory traditions. In the second half of this section, below, I return to the question of different imaginations of each other in the context of the Zustreech agenda.

Involvement with locals, non-locals, and visiting Ukrainians from Ukraine

It would not do justice to *Zustreech* to say that it is an organization created exclusively by immigrants for immigrants. On the contrary, from the beginning "natives" or *korinni*, that is, in Bogdan's words, Canadian Ukrainians have joined Zustreech and have been extremely active in it. The Pivovarchuks always had difficulties estimating the exact membership whenever there were such inquiries. Not because they could not remember the numbers.[122] Rather, operating with numbers was culturally inappropriate when it came to evaluating their organization and people's emotional and labour involvement in it. Neither were they interested in thinking about their members in terms of who were Ukrainians from Ukraine and who were Ukrainian Canadians. Both subgroups of members were perceived as "true Ukrainians" who wanted to follow the organizational goals. Everyone, including myself, during numerous private socials organized by *Zustreech* members, was treated equally. Often that meant that everyone was subjected to the same rules of socialization and hospitality, Ukrainian-style: copious amounts of food and hard alcohol served by the hosts, separation of men and women in two distinct circles that rarely overlap, the telling of ethnic and gendered jokes, evenings ending in singing folk songs, and Ukrainian as the sole language of communication.

> "I am used to it," Iryna laughs during one of the evenings she and Bogdan hosted at their house. "I can fit twenty, thirty, more people, no pRRoblem [her Slavic "r" is doubly magnified here]. Nothing to eat? Just water and bread, and give it to them. No

[122] From year to year membership varied, officially in 2000 there were 40 to 50 paid members.

> pRRoblem! *Nasha pani* [she refers to her supervisor's wife at work] she always complains when she has to cook for guests. She doesn't like cooking. Always asks me on Monday: Irene, you had guests last night, how do you manage to work today? Did you see that? They just don't know how to do it." And Iryna laughs again, turns her back to me and off she goes to open the doors for another party. (fieldnotes, February 8, 1998)

Most "native" members embraced this style of socializing wholeheartedly as well as what was novel to them, a kind of private Ukrainianness that was recreated during these meetings. They tried out their own rustic Ukrainian, drank and ate at the cost of their hosts, some farming bachelors sought out wives from Ukraine,[123] others sought the meaning of their own Canadian Ukrainianness. While for others, like Rosemary, French-Canadian in her seventies, these socials as well as *Zustreech* in general added much colour to her life as wife, mother, and grandmother of Ukrainian Canadians.

> If it would not be Rosemary, I would have already died from all this work [*Iryna laughs*]. I can't stand it anymore, I think for myself, if that French woman toils like an oxen for a Ukrainian organization and for nothing, I can't leave it. *I* had enough of it. I thought I would raise up [during the annual meeting] and tell everybody that I am going to step down [from her position of the chief cook]. But then, she just sits across me, pulls out piece of paper and begins to discuss with me what we shall do for the next year. I just can't do it! I just can't do it because of her, she laughs again. (Iryna Pivovarchuk 03.21.01)

But even if Canadian Ukrainians took active part in the work of the society and their numbers might have been even 50 percent of the total membership, they were not to make ideological decisions on *how* to stage the events, or *what* to include in the program, etc.

> "They [Pivovarchuks and other Ukrainians] are from Ukraine and they know so much about Ukrainian culture, they sing, they play music, they speak the language, so they know much better then we here in Canada how to make Ukrainian celebrations." These were the words by one of the most devoted Ukrainian-Canadian members, which she shared with me on a ride back to the city after attending a *Zustreech* event in 1999. Practically all "native" members of *Zustreech* expressed on various occasions similar opinions. This deference was especially marked with regard to "cultural" aspects of Ukrainianness from Ukraine, while other aspects, organizational for example, could in private be heavily criticized. In reaction to an unclearly stated annual report on *Zustreech*, during one of the annual meetings I overheard bitter voices of the natives complaining: "They are not in Ukraine anymore, what do they themselves think? Who could do business like this? (fieldnotes, March 18, 2001)

Zustreech also prides itself on the fact that many of their cultural events were staged with the participation of numerous Ukrainians from Ukraine who were visiting Canada. Some were involved throughout the year while awaiting a decision about their refugee status, others were "visiting," *na vizyti*, a term specifically reserved to the visits arranged from

---

[123] During 1997-2000, there were five marriages between Ukrainian Canadian men and Ukrainian women who were involved in *Zustreech* while visiting Canada.

Ukraine by the Canadian kin for half a year or more. Another member was invited directly from Hrytsevolia for a one-year stay to contribute to the construction of the *Korchma*-on-wheels (*korchma* means literally tavern, although "kitchen" might be more appropriate as a translation in this case), which later became the organization's trademark as well as the means for mobile catering. In a most innovative way *Zustreech* managed to involve several groups of young women from Ukraine as official participants in a Canada-Ukraine Youth Exchange, staged in neighbouring towns in Alberta in 1998, 1999, and 2000. In other cases, they redirected a few performing collectives from Ukraine who were touring the country.

B. I try to involve our people if they are coming here [on exchanges or other programs to Edmonton or the area]. Those were wonderful times when those girls stayed in Edmonton. We staged such a cultural program, they sang beautifully ...

I They were close by, in Fort Saskatchewan. It turned out just perfect, we had *stsenarii*, we made up our own program, we could rehearse the performance. But this time [referring to a group who came on the same exchange in 2000], where they were? In Red Deer! How can you do rehearsals when they are in Red Deer? Once Ihor went, the other time Bogdan went, that's it, you won't do much this way.

B. [In 1998] ... when we staged *Obzhynky* with them, the hall was filled up, there was no room to seat people.

I ... and it also happened that almost all of them had their kin people here in the Bloc, so they also had come. ..

B. That was an enjoyable evening, with all the people from all over together ... (03.21.01)

Cultural program: new developments

As noted above, from the very beginning the Pivovarchuks and their society announced quite an ambitious cultural program. Years of living in Mundare and experiencing local Ukrainianness significantly humbled their original ambitions, such as the originally proposed cultural program, and especially the *narodna shkola* for the local youth. With time came the realization that fundraising should become a priority: for five years (1995-2001) the society's financial balance was not positive. Organizational work became increasingly centred around food catering. Now *Zustreech*, or rather its food kiosk *Korchma*, travels from one local event to another, from pow-wow festivals in Lac La Biche, to farm action sales, to the Vegreville *Pysanka* Festival. Among other Canadian foods, it offers traditionally-expected of local Ukrainians perogies, *kubasa*, and *holubtsi* for sale. The *Zustreech* organizational style more and more resembles practices of local Ukrainian-Canadian organizations whose well-being almost solely depends on catering Ukrainian-Canadian food to the community at large.

The *Zustreech* calendar of cultural events has also changed. During the same five years most folkloric and "national" festivities, those that were originally sought as representations of "true Ukrainian culture," were crossed out from the calendar. While Bogdan, an idealist, still thinks that they can afford to host most of their folkloric and "national" performances (which includes celebrations of Ukraine's independence), others do not share his vision anymore. The future is debated intensely. During the annual

meeting in 2001, Bogdan worked hard to convince the rest of the members to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, but unsuccessfully. "I thought, please we have to do it, this is the tenth anniversary, and this park *Ukraina*, with such a name, we have to do it, but they didn't want, I don't understand it!" (Bogdan Pivovarchuk, 03.21.01). Another national celebration, Shevchenko day, has not been discussed since 1998.

Most folkloric celebrations are seen by the Zustreech organizers as doomed. Spring arrival celebrations, *Maiivka*, or *Vesnivka*, are hard to promote. Farming season completely takes over people's lives in May and June. *Vertep*, *Malanka*, *Mykolai*, and other staged performances are also "lost cases," in Iryna's eyes. The Society can't steadily rely on visiting Ukrainians from Ukraine to produce and rehearse these plays based on *stsenarii*. "Canadians [that is, Canadian Ukrainians] are not capable of doing anything like that themselves" (Iryna Pivovrachuk 03.17.01). At stake here is not just knowledge of Ukrainian language, but knowledge of Ukrainian folk culture, and the knowledge how to go about publicly presenting it on stage. All these qualities are lacking in native Canadian Ukrainians according to Zustreech' ideologues. From the Pivovarchuks' point of view:

I. *Bogdane*, for this organization to survive, it should have one Ukrainian event, may be *zabava*, may be *vertep*. But it should be only one Ukrainian event! [her voice is high] All came to the point, that all those *Malankas*, … there are too many of them around. *Vertep* — we won't be able to pull it out, people [Ukrainians from Ukraine] are leaving [the area], and so it is. And as for *Obzhynky*, this is like that, they [the event] can be organized by Ukrainians, and by Canadians, by whoever. So, we decided to pick *Obzhynky*, it also costs less, that that *Vertep* for example … (03.21.2001)

Thus, only one cultural (folkloric) event, and not a political (national) one, has been allowed to "survive." *Obzhynky*, fitting the local cultural context more than any other of *Zustreech* original celebrations, became the staple production of the society.

In the remaining part of this chapter I look more closely at *Obzhynky* performances staged in Mundare in 1997- 1999, and especially at symbols and metaphors these performances rely on. I look at *Obzhynky* not only because they became seen as fitting the local cultural scape — celebrated in the fall, *Zustreech Obzhynky* are perceived locally to be the "Ukrainian Thanksgiving" — but also because these events continue to promote a kind of Ukrainianness that relies on mythology and metaphors unknown in this locale. In doing so the event survives and at the same time enables negotiations between local and homeland Ukrainianness. In this respect *Obzhynky* emerges as a pre-eminently diagnostic events, to recall Sally Moore's useful concept. For in these celebrations one can trace not only the changing agenda of a small organization but also how two worlds and two kinds of Ukrainianness meet, challenge, and alter each other. As diagnostic events *Obzhynky* best illustrate the actuality of continuing juxtapositions of local and homeland visions of Ukrainianness. This especially revealed in the content of the staged performances and in the choice of metaphors and cultural symbols propagated by *Zustreech* from the stage.

Obzhynky

Obzhynky[124] comes from *obzhynaty*, the verb that refers to threshing and winnowing. As a particular agricultural ritual, *obzhynky* refers to traditional agricultural celebrations of the end of harvest season. In pre-collectivized Ukrainian peasant society, *obzhynky* were an important part of the calendric ritual cycle and major seasonal celebrations of the family and to some degree of the village community. With the imposition of collective farms, Soviet ideologues incorporated this ritual into the public calendar and actively promoted it. The ritual has been modified to fit the Soviet cultural agenda. Collective farm labour and farmers' contributions to Soviet economy needed to be aggressively promoted and idealized in order to stimulate Soviet agricultural production and, overall, people's loyalty to the Soviet principles of life. It is in these celebrations that much of the Soviet mythology was born promoting new Soviet cultural values. In independent Ukraine Soviet *stsenarii* written for *Obzhynky* were re-shaped by the new cohort of post-Soviet Ukrainian scriptwriters. In such re-writing, even if the content of *Obzhynky stsenarii* was modified, the style, the rhetoric, and the metaphoric and symbolic language were not significantly altered.

In *Obzhynky* held in Mundare much of this post-Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian mythology was directly brought out onto the stage. The culture program was staged according to a same scripts, written in post-Soviet Ukraine. "*Stsenarii* were provided by Lesia Sudeyko [who was "visiting" Canada in 1997-1998]. ... because she had a sister who worked as *zavklubom* (the head of the Centre of Amateur Arts), she would send those *stsenarii* from Ukraine to us. Then whoever would be coming from Ukraine, would bring us other *stsenarii*, if we would ask. Some brought literature with children's material. So we are all set here" (Iryna Pivovarchuk 03.21.01).

Like the rest of the Zustreech agenda, over the course of years (1997-1999) the style of presenting *Obzhynky* changed. Firstly, Ukrainian-Canadian members became more involved in these performances, translating for the audience some parts of what was recited on stage. "We have to remind [the audience] that in Ukrainian gold does not refer to money, but to bread" (Rosaline Rudiak 01.14.99). Secondly, similarly to other local events, local authorities have been invited to open up the evening. And thirdly, the staged performance has significantly shortened. And for good reason:

I. No one will come for just the cultural program [here Iryna makes a comparison with Ukraine, where cultural performances staged by amateurs have been familiar public events conceived as concerts and plays]. Unless you feed them. First you have to feed them all and then give them dances.
B. We had to adapt to the local ways, you see ...
I. .. but we could have done more, we could do some scholarly/popular staff, *shos' naukovo-populiarne*, some lectures, some concerts ... but no one pays attention. Ok, when we made *vertep* they sort of followed, as if overcoming some sort of

[124] The following discussion is based on my observations and participation in two *Obzhynky* events, my numerous encounters with performers involved in such presentations, and on two video recordings of *Obzhynky* I didn't attend. Iryna later provided me with three different *stsenarii* which were used for these events in different years.

> difficulties. ... Wherever we are invited to stage some cultural program, they ask us, no more than half an hour. And then dances. As for offering some lectures, this is hardly realistic [she emotionally waves her hand down]. (03.21.01)

Yet, even if significantly shortened, the cultural performance continued to be based on Ukraine's *stsenarii*, and correspondingly on post-Soviet (and Soviet) metaphors which they advanced. Iryna's reference to the difficulties which the audience experienced in attempting to follow what was unfolding on the stage points out not merely linguistic barriers between the presenters and the presented. There is more to this miscommunication than just the language, the rhetoric with which presenters address the audience, the speeches that promote unknown metaphors by which the locals are encouraged to live by, the unfamiliar pathos. All this is alienating as the Ukrainian language itself, which does not remind the locals of the prairie Ukrainian they grew up with. To ground this claim, let me bring in here some moments from *Obzhynky* performances (1997, 1999) which unintentionally promote these post-Soviet, and even Soviet, myths and cultural values.

Obzhynky were held in the same community halls as other local events, in the National Hall, Drop-in-Centre, and in the "Rec." The evening would include the usual: cocktails, dinner, dance, the midnight lunch, dancing again. Between the dinner and the dance some time was dedicated to the *Obzhynky* presentation. The hall and tables for the guests were decorated with stocks of grain, balloons, branches of *kalyna* (high bush cranberry), for it is seen by *Zustreech* (as well as by all Ukrainians in Ukraine) as a symbol of Ukrainian culture. Just in front of the stage, facing the guests, a large table contained ritual bread amongst embroidered Ukrainian towels, grain, high bush cranberry, and flowers. In 1999, the hall décor also included a familiar "dummie" dressed up as a farmer and surrounded by pumpkins: an indication to the changing identity of the event.

The cultural program would begin in general with the "Welcome" during which the hostess along with other female participants bowed and presented the audience with *korovai*, ritual bread. Alternately, the *korovai* was presented later. The presentation included poetry recitations, songs, "lyrical philosophizing" all promoting quite a unique – for this Western Canadian locality – set of symbols and metaphors. Usually at the very beginning and at the end, modifications of the scripts were made to connect what followed with the local context. In 1998 the opening remarks reasoned this connection by referring to kinship links between local Ukrainians and those in Ukraine. The master of ceremonies addressed the audience as following:

> Glory to Jesus Christ, dear family! It will not be mistaken to say [the family], for I believe today's celebrations are one more step towards our re-unification, kin's reunion. We (the performers) were born in those lands where your great grandfathers and grandfathers lived, where are the roots of our united Ukrainian kin. Wherever we would be, we would always sense the call of a native land ... In whichever lands the life path would bring a person, over the mountains and the hills, over the oceans and the seas, he would always remember that land where the roots of his kin are, where he saw the sky above his head for the first time... (translation mine)

After attempting to connect the content of the script with the local context the performance would progress according to the script with some slight alterations. Much of the non-local rhetoric remains in the text pointing to the rootedness of *Zustreech*

Obzhynky in Soviet ideology and its symbolism. The order of citations below reflects the order in which *Obzhynky* symbols and metaphors appeared during cultural programs. First, harvest celebrations are commonly proclaimed to be of *national* importance:

Slukhaite, liudy, slukhaite, liudy
Sviato vrozhaiu nyni v nas bude
Prykhod'te, liudy, rodynu klychte
Na vsenarodne sviato velychne.
(1997)

Listen people, listen people
Today we will celebrate the harvest
Come people, call your families
Come to our all-national solemn holiday

Second, throughout the presentation, much attention is given to glorification of bread making, bread-makers, the earth, the stalks of grain, the sheaf, and the bread. There would be recitations glorifying "workers of land, bread growers." They appear as tireless:

Den' s'ohodni ves' azh siaie,
tak vid sontsia vin rozkviv!
Tse s'ohodni den' vrozhaiu,
den nevtomnykh trudariv (1998)

Even the day is shining
So it has bloomed under the sun
It is the Harvest Day,
The day of tireless workers

They are attested to be the "best people":

I s'ohodni do nas na sviato
zavitaly krashchi liudy,
trudivnyky — khliboroby
kanads'kykh zemel'. (1998)

To attend our holiday today
came the best people,
the workers, the breadmakers
of the Canadian fields.

Chest' i slava khliborobam,
shcho zhyvut' na tsii zemli ...
Na rukakh u nykh buvaie pyl,
zemlia, ta tse darma —
Kozhen skazhe, kozhen znaie,
krashchykh ruk, iak tsi — nema!
(1997)

Greetings and glory to the breadmakers,
who live on this land.
On their hands one can see dust, dirt, so what -
Everyone will tell [you], everyone knows,
that there are no better hands than theirs!

Nekhai z roku v rik, iz rodu v rid
Ne bude khliborobam perevodu
Khai slava ikhnia vichno ne zakhodyt'
Azh doky sontse llie na zemliu svit.
(1997, 1998)

From year to year, from generation to generation, breadmakers will continue their work
Let their glory be eternally high as long as the sun spreads its light to earth

They are seen as having mastered the world's oldest miracle (i.e., bread):

Na (zemli) rodyt' odne z
naydavnishykh dyv svitu — tse khlib,
iakomu liudstvo, zdaiet'sia jdosi ne
sklalo tsiny. Mozhe cherez te zdavna
taku povahu i shanu maly i maiut'
tvortsi takoho dyva — khliboroby.
(1998)

One of the most ancient wonders is born on the land. This is bread, the price of which people, it seems, have not yet found. Perhaps, because of this, from the ancient times, breadmakers, creators of this wonder, have been enjoying such respect and appreciation.

Other people's happiness, and even their life, is claimed to depend on bread-makers:

Skil'ky khliborobs'koi mudrosti v tykh liudiakh, na chyikh rukakh trymaiet'sia nashe shchastia, zhyttia. I os' zavdiaky vashiy pratseliubnosti, vashym rukam, khlib s'ohodni ne mria, khlib s'ohodni na stoli u kozhnoi liudyny (1998).	There is so much breadmaking wisdom in those people, in whose hands is our happiness, our life. It is thanks to your love for work, to your hands, that bread today is not a dream. Bread today is on the tables of every person.

To labour like a bread-maker is what constitutes human happiness:

Chy ie shche bil'she shchastia na zemli iak siiat' khlib, vyroshchuvat' dostatok? (1997)	Is there more happiness on earth than the happiness of seeding the bread and growing wealth?

They appear as the masters of the land, who, by seeding the land until sunrise, father future bread (i.e., grain, metaphorically, stands in for bread). The following is an excerpt from the "Song of a Bread Maker":

Ia siiaty liubliu do svitankovykh zir. Viddat' iarin' zerna, shcho niby maty Zhyvytyme joho. Meni potriben myr Shchob zemliu vsiu zernom nevtomno zasivaty (1997)	I love seeding until the morning star [I love] giving away the kernel of the seed [to the land/earth] that will, like mother, nurture it.. I demand peace [on earth], to be able to seed tirelessly the land/earth

Bread makers are presented as aware that they feed the nation:

... na stil svoho narodu tebe kladu ia, vyplekanyi mii [khlib] (1997).	I put you, my nurtured bread, on the table of my nation [my people].

The symbolization of other constituencies and aspects of (collective) farmers' labour continues in the same vein. The earth, the land that bears bread emerges as mother, as a saint, and as a symbol of people's loyalty to this mother land and to their [spiritual and national] Motherland:

Zemlia —maty, zemlia — hoduval'nytsia! Spokonvikiv liudy nazyvaly zemliu nailaskavishymy, naisvitlishymy imenamy, porivniuvaly ii z obrazom materi. Spravdi, vona iak maty, shchyra, nizhna, kvitucha. (1998) ...	Earth/land is the mother, the earth/land is the feeder. From the ancient times people named the earth/land with most tender and most heart lit names. They compared it with the image of mother. True, it [she in Ukrainian] is like mother, generous, tender, blossoming.

Zemlia — to maty, to vsim bahata	Land/earth — it is our mother, rich with everything
Zemlia — kolyska nasha nazavzhdy	Land/earth — it is our cradle forever
...	
Oi, iak zhe treba chesno zhyty	How honestly we need to live
I zemliu tsiu sviatu liubyty ... (1997)	And to love this holy land/earth [of ours]

Bread, the product of earth, is also glorified:

Sviashchennoho braterstva khlib	The holy brotherhood of bread I carry as the sheaf from the field
nesu nemov uzhymok z polia (1997)	

Bread is described in metaphors of mother/child relationship:

Khlib! V nim stepu dzvin na rizni holosy,	Bread! In this word one hears the buzz of the prairies
I nebokrai u veselkovim tsviti	and many a voice, and sees the sky framed by the rainbow.
Ioho kokhala nache nemovlia vesnoiu	The mother Earth nurtured this bread as if it was a child.
Povna, radistiu bahata	
Bahatoplidna, i bahatotsvitna,	
Usezhyvliushcha matinka-zemlia.	
Vin pyv vitry, solodki i p'ianki.	It drunk from winds sweet and .....
I sontse v n'oho shchedro ulylosia	The sun was giving itself fully to the bread.
Ta ioho vlyte zoriamy volossia	But bread's star covered stalks gained their
Vbyralo sylu z liuds'koii ruky. (1997)	strength from a human hand.

Mothered by the earth, or mother-land, (in Ukrainian both words have one translation, *zemlia*), bread is inevitably seen as mothered by the Motherland:

Pryimai, narode, shchedrist' nashykh nyv U ts'omu dobrim khlibi Bat'kivshchyny, Zemli moiei ridnoi barvyny (1997)	People except the bounty of our fields in this good bread of our fatherland, the colours of my native land.

As for the audience, who are to understood to represent the rest of the nation, people are to nurture pride in bread-makers:

Horzhusia rodom khliborobiv,	I am proud of the breadmakers' kin who are the
Maistramy khliba i zemli,	masters of the bread and masters of land/earth
Shanuiu skromnyi ikh dorobok,	I respect their modesty and their achievements,
Dila velyki i mali (1997)	big and small.

The cited examples are only short excerpts from the poems, songs, and other presented verses. Such performances usually lasted more than an hour, although the duration has been considerably shortening, as pointed out above. At the end of the presentation another attempt would be made to bridge this scripted content of presentation, composed

for the high school celebrations of Ukraine's agricultural productivity in Soviet and later post-Soviet context, with the concerns of the local audience. Local farmers would be directly addressed:

Svoi shchyri vitannia na vashe sviato shliut' khliboroby Ukraiins'kykh poliv. Zychat' vam shchastia, zdorov'ia i nasnahy na mnohaia lita, na dovhi roky. (1998)	The breadmakers of Ukrainian fields send you their sincere greetings on the occasion of your celebrations. They wish you happiness, health, and perseverance for many years.
... lyne nasha pisnia horda i velychna, vil'na Ukraiina shle uklin velychnyi ... (1998).	Our solemn and proud song goes into the world, and free Ukraine is sending her solemn greetings.

But the local farmers are also simultaneously presumed to be part of the same Ukrainian nation, to which usually the presentation is addressed when staged in Ukraine. Ukraine is also their mother:

I doky bude sonechko siiaty Vichno bude zhyty Ukraina-maty Samostiina, vil'na, doroha derzhava, Slava Ukraini, i heroiam slava! (1998)	As long as there will be sun in the sky Mother Ukraine will be eternally alive Our independent, free, and dear state Glory to Ukraine and glory to her heroes.

As was usually done in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine, the evening would end with proclamations of long life to Ukraine, long life to people's labour, and long life to people's friendship:

V trudi i slava nasha i dolia i druzhby vimoi teplo V nim shum dibrovy, homin polia I pisni chyste dzherelo ... (1998)	Our glory, our fate, and the warmth of the true friendship are in labour It has the clamor of the forest, the noises of the field; it is the clear source of songs.
A teper vam pisnia shchyra khai lunaie na zemli: Slava pratsi, slava myru, slava khlibu na stoli ... (1998)	And now let a sincere song for you to spread around earth: Glory to Labour, Glory to Piece, Glory to Bread on the table.
Do pobachennia, bud'te zdorovi, khai vam druzi u vs'omu shchastyt'! Khai u kozhnomu vashomu domi pisnia druzhby krylata dzvenyt'! (1998)	Until then, be happy, dear friends, let happiness be with you anytime Let the free song of friendship be heard in every your household.

These citations from *Obzhynky*'s narrative presentation, its symbolism, points of reference, metaphors, rhetoric, and poetic language are new to today's Mundare community. Add here the body language of the presenters and the language of presentation itself – its rhythm, tone, and cadence. Performers would memorize (or at least make an attempt to memorize) their lines, before proclaiming them with heavy emotions that attempted to evoke a level of seriousness suitable to the solemnity of the occasion. This seriousness and solemnity is also inherited from "other times." During the Soviet era, staged events of this kind were solemn celebrations of significant issues of Soviet culture. Smiling, for example, was not part of presentational style. The language used for *Obzhynky* narrative presentation is also highly rhetorical and of strong ideological pathos, as one could notice in the cited verses. The scripts for *Obzhynky*, while they became increasingly shorter with each year, nevertheless remained the same in terms of their style. They continue to rely on the same means of presentation and re-create the same mythology directly borrowed from original "peoples' holidays scripts" which *Zustreech* utilizes for its performances.

The mythology recreated in the *Obzhynky* presents the mythic heroes, the bread-makers (originally, collective farmers in Soviet times, and later Ukraine's co-op farmers). The bread-makers are *national* heroes (originally, the heroes of the *Soviet* nation, and later the heroes of mother Ukraine). Their "struggle" for bread is the struggle for the nation's well-being, symbolically expressed in the fact that the bread is to be laid on the nation's table. The bread-makers are also directly responsible for the nation's happiness. The earth/land metaphor is interchangeable with "mother" and "motherland" and thus bread-makers by seeding the land are also elevated to the status of fathers of bread, and symbolically fathers of the nation. This is a good example of a status inversion in the ritual, when during the ritual, those with the low status in real life are elevated in the ritual time and space to the highest position within the group the ritual addresses. In Soviet rites of Harvest celebration, collective farmers, who worked for the system under worse conditions than any other social class, were assigned the symbolic role of the fathers of the nation, because they were fathering bread, a metaphor for the nation's wealth and happiness. The same mythology has been preserved in post-Soviet "scripts of people's holidays."

Practically unedited, the same mythology was re-created during *Obzhynky* in Mundare. Some editing of the text was made of course. Upgraded was the hero of the narrative who is now a Canadian farmer. The rest of the myth as created and practiced in Soviet and later post-Soviet times in Ukraine, is delivered in Mundare virtually unedited.

"They sort of follow." These were Iryna's words with respect to the audience's attention to what was happening on the stage. On this note, I would like to return to the questions I posed at the beginning of this section. What is the interaction between local Ukrainianness and homeland Ukrainianness as promoted by *Zustreech*? Did *Zustreech* Ukrainianness, or in other words the Ukrainianness from Ukraine, have any effect on local understandings and practices of Ukrainianness? Has this contact between the two cultures with the same name been producing some kind of a fused, hybrid sense of Ukrainianness on local grounds, or something else?

The contact zone: conclusions

Not used to prolonged shows executed in an unfamiliar parlance (and for many, in an unfamiliar language), most of the audience would indeed lose attention during *Obzhynky* presentations. The sophisticated narrative escaped them completely, as it was revealed later in my conversations with the local Ukrainian attendees (fieldnotes, November 1998). Cultural symbols and values propagated from the stage were not really perceived as such for they were neither heard or understood. On the other hand, the presented material was nevertheless made available for comprehension by the audience. In décor and other visual elements locals recognize *Zustreech* Ukrainianness as something they also may relate to. Thus, when it comes to public displaying of one's culture, it is through the visual and the aesthetic features, and not the verbal or ideological features, that sympathetic relating to other Ukrainianness takes place. The zone in which both kinds of Ukrainianness actually come in contact is being shaped during performances in the reception of their visual aspects. *Obzhynky* celebrations become actualizations of this contact established in this locality with the beginnings of *Zustreech* activities.

The contact between the two kinds of Ukrainianness takes place within two different domains (a) within the domain of a staged culture, which is a public and formal cultural space, and (b) within the domain of everyday life. In the first case, the interaction between the two kinds of Ukrainianness is *symbolic*. The contact is actualized through their interaction via symbolic language, metaphors, visual representations, etc. I understand this interaction to be primarily a *miscommunication*, however. In *Zustreech* official presentations, and their attempts to convey their myths and cultural values to the locals, the interaction between two kinds of Ukrainianness may be labeled as unachieved communication. To the locals, symbols of Ukraine and metaphors from Ukraine do not convey the content and the meanings Ukrainians in Ukraine invest them with. These symbols do not alter the local meanings of Ukrainianness, for local Ukrainianness in the Mundare locality is a long-established network of meanings and relationships developed in tandem with the emergence and consolidation of the Mundare community.

Visual representations of Ukraine's symbols and values are comprehended with ease by local people. Local visual images and symbols of local Ukrainianness, being similar to those offered by *Zustreech*, are still remembered by the many in the audience. The *Didukh* and *korovai* presented during *Obzhynky* reminded people of Christmas *Didukhs* and ritual wedding breads. What *Zustreech* did on the stage evoke personal memories of *local* Ukrainianness. "It is very nice that you are keeping up with the Ukrainian traditions. The songs and dance are very relaxing, Also it reminds me of my parents and grandparents. When I was a little girl, I remember my dido playing the violin and dancing old Ukrainian dances. Keep up with good work "(Marsha Woloshuk, *Zustreech* Guest Book, p.3, 1997).

On the other hand, interaction between the two kinds of Ukrainianness continues outside its staged presentations. It is in the domain of everyday life, in peoples' encounters of each other, in their ways of relating, socializing, growing their vegetables, singing their songs, and conversing that the two kinds of Ukrainianness are personally experienced, debated, contested, at times criticized, and at times complemented. It is in the domain of

everyday life, in the domain of private encounters, that both kinds of Ukrainianness are truly contested and their values challenged.

In both cases within the domain of a staged culture, or public culture, and within the domain of everyday life, it is too early to speak about a fusion or integration of the two kinds of Ukrainianness. True fusion would require a large pool of accumulated lived experiences of many individuals and groups in contact which would simultaneously experience both kinds as theirs. Contact between these two kinds of Ukrainianness, represented by locals and immigrants, or by the locals and visitors from Ukraine, is however a very recent phenomenon. The local Ukrainianness of Mundare has become a truly grounded culture, with its own legitimate history, and respected status within Canadian mainstream society; and for much of this development, there was little contact between it and its overseas kin in Ukraine. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union contact has resumed, only to find that a gap has emerged despite common rootedness in Ukrainianness. As a result there is to date a continuing contestation, and at times disagreements (in private domain) and miscommunication (in public domain).

Zustreech public and private activities introducing a new kind of Ukrainianness in this locale may seem like a novelty to those locals whose life unfolds mostly within this locality. From local perspectives, this new kind of Ukrainianness comes from the outside and challenges local understandings of what Ukrainianness is all about. Yet, from the perspective of larger history, the *Zustreech* practices indicate a new turn in the cultural phenomenon of diaspora/homeland interaction. Or, if the term "diaspora" is not exactly a suitable designator for the territorialized, localized Ukrainianness present in Western Canada, what is indicated is a new turn in transnational interactions between local Ukrainianness of a place like Mundare and the Ukrainianness of Mundare's "old country." At the same time, Zustreech practices are also a continuation of a long history of identity negotiation that has been unfolding in this locality for more than a century. Some negotiations over local Ukrainianness took place earlier in the twentieth century, with debates held by Galicians versus Bukovinians, Roman Catholics versus Greek Catholic versus Orthodox, and so on. Katherine Verdery, a cultural anthropologist studying contemporary rural worlds in Transylvania, Romania, made the appropriate comment that culture is not about shared meanings, it is a zone of disagreement and contest (Verdery 1994: 42). If seen this way, local Ukrainianness is just continuing its "journey" through a new kind of contestation, this time triggered by the consequences of global political change in the 1980s and 90s and by a new wave of immigration from Ukraine.

Conclusion

This dissertation addresses the question: What is local ethnic identity in times of late modernity? As an ethnographic case study, this work deals with local Ukrainianness in the Western Canadian rural town of Mundare as experienced by the local people in the last decade of the twentieth century. Although I concentrate on how local Ukrainianness is represented, lived and practiced, the question of *local* identity, culture, and their continuity requires one to consider not only recent happenings and events, but to take into consideration broad historical and global contexts within which local Ukrainianness has formed. Therefore examination of local Ukrainianness in this study was initiated through placing Mundare within these broad contexts (Chapter One). Throughout history, Mundare has undergone different stages of social organization, from being a mere territory to becoming a *locality* with a Ukrainian identity, to growing into a distinctive *community* whose lifeworld is markedly Ukrainian.

Another question I posed is whether Mundare, at the turn of the twenty-first century and a century after its establishment, will remain a distinct *community* in which Ukrainianness is lived and practiced, or whether it will gradually move into a new stage, that of being a *locality* wherein Ukrainian identity becomes exclusively representational – and hence, becomes purely *a past* that has been preserved, but is no longer a vital practice *in the present* – and wherein the Ukrainian community loses its distinctive position, and the locality opens more to multiple incoming cultural flows. To address this question – holding out the hope, but not the expectation, of proving able to answer it – I considered the development of Mundare Ukrainianness beginning from a historical and global perspective. I claimed that the central feature characterizing the history of Mundare Ukrainianness has been the phenomenon of *Ukrainian transnationalism.*

I began by outlining how Mundare developed into a distinctive Ukrainian community. Then my discussion proceeded toward the question of how the need for continuity of Mundare Ukrainianness was realized by the community in times of rupture, roughly defined as beginning in the late 1950s and achieving an acute definition by the 1970s, which situation was maintained throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century. By looking at local representations of the Mundare past that started to appear since the 1970s, I argued that the question of continuity of local Ukrainianness was raised in the 1970s. Ukrainianness was seen by the locals once again in need of being asserted. Narratives became the means for promoting the idea of continuity of local Ukrainianness, and at the same time the means for its mythologization. I discussed how and why Mundare Ukrainianness is defined by Mundare people the way it has been defined in the local history book, the local Ukrainian museum, and family histories (Chapter Two).

With the assertion of continuity the question is raised whether to create representations of one's culture means that one still *lives* one's culture in the fullest sense. I argued that to understand local Ukrainianness it is not enough to consider how it is represented. One has to go further and look at how local Ukrainianness is *practiced.* Hence the question of "what is Ukrainianness" becomes focussed on the question of its *vitality* (Chapter Three). Through analysis of local practices of Ukrainianness, it became obvious that the vitality of local Ukrainianness is seen by the locals as being threatened, a perception that I found justified, even as on the level of representations its continuity is actively asserted. From

this point on, the discussion moved again to consideration of broader historical developments that affected local Ukrainianness.

In brief, that is the outline of the study through its first three chapters. Let me outline now in depth how its exposition developed through Chapter One and Chapter Two.

The discussion in the first chapter unfolds on two levels. While introducing the reader to Mundare – its history, geography, and ethnic composition – I argue that Mundare has undergone different stages of its organization, from being a mere *territory* (late 1890s) to becoming a distinct *locality* (1900s-1920s), to growing into a *community* with a Ukrainian identity (since approximately the 1930s). I also define how the notions of locality and community are understood in this study: the community is a social collectivity, which has developed its own social structures over time around that link. Locality is defined primarily spatially as that stable place wherein communities stake their claims, assume and contest identities, and maintain their continuity.

The emergence of a distinct local Mundare Ukrainianness has been subject to the workings of several global and historical processes. The first global development that affected Mundare Ukrainianness was the development of Ukrainian transnational cultural flows occurring with the first major wave of mass, migration of farming peasantry from Western Ukraine to South and North America. Settled at the turn of the twentieth century, Mundare became involved in transnational Ukrainian networks, for not only lay people immigrated to the Mundare area at the turn of the 1900s from the Ukrainian lands of Austro-Hungary. The Ukrainian Catholic Church also sent to this locality their missionaries, the Basilian Fathers. They founded their own monastery in Mundare which would become headquarters of Ukrainian Basilians throughout North America. Mundare became an important locale in the transnational geography of Ukrainian Catholicism.

The second global development that affected the development of Mundare Ukrainianness was the political change in Europe. As a part of the Ukrainian transnational networks, the establishment of the Mundare community by the 1930s had been taking place in the context of the active relationship between Mundare and Western Ukraine. Immigrants continued to arrive to Mundare from Western Ukraine until the mid-1920s. Some traffic between the families on both continents continued through the twenties. Correspondence was regular and commonplace, as well as the practice of money transfers to Ukrainian villages where parents and families remained, often in need of support from Canada. The Basilians' novitiate received their students directly from Ukraine. With political changes in Europe in the 1910s-20s (the First World War, the redesign of European borders, the proclamation of the Soviet Union) communication between Ukraine and Mundare significantly slowed down. Although since emigration from Western Ukraine somewhat revived in the early 1920s and several families reached Mundare during that time, overall the mid 1920s signaled the decline of Mundare's direct involvements with Ukraine. For many in Mundare, from the Basilians to the lay people, it became clear that their future was going to unfold locally and without involvement with the "old country."

The third development affecting the formation of Mundare Ukrainianness has to do with circumstances relating to Canada's development as a nation, and specifically on its Western frontier. At the end of the nineteenth century the Canadian government continued actively exploring and colonizing western Canada with the idea of developing

the prairies into an agricultural sector. Such further colonization needed farming people, these were actively recruited in Eastern Europe. Ukrainians were attracted in great numbers, some 170,000 coming to Canada between 1891 and 1914. The pioneer conditions of the Western Canadian frontier with farming as the main occupation broadly defined the future of Mundare Ukrainianness.

It is in response to these global developments that Mundare underwent three distinct stages of development, from being a mere territory prior to the twentieth century, to becoming a locality (1900s-1920s), to growing into a distinct community (1930s - 1970s). During the 1900s-1920s when the Mundare locality was under construction, the Mundare people – immigrants, settlers, pioneers, farmers – lived the founding of their community. They built their first churches, established schools for children, erected their first National Hall, undertook their first community initiatives directed at organizing the whole community along religious, educational and cultural lines. The local lifeworld witnessed the establishment of drama circles, reading halls, choirs, and music bands during these decades. From the mid-1920s through the 1950s, this was the world where Ukrainianness was actively practiced and directly experienced. In other words, during this period of time, Ukrainianness was *lived*, and did not need to be questioned.

By the mid-1920s, the global processes of mass migration from Ukraine, the development of the Western Canadian frontier, the increasing isolation from Ukraine, combined with the experiences of kinship, pioneer farming, and religiosity, that had contributed to the formation of a particular *locality* from which a distinct Mundare *community* then emerged. However, how did the Mundare lifeworld with its distinctive Ukrainianness emerge from an interaction of global processes and social phenomena that were not unique to Mundare?

For the Mundare lifeworld with its distinct sense of Ukrainianness, the two key factors in its formation were Ukrainian Catholicism and Western Canadian-style farming. Of these two factors, it is the fact that the Ukrainian Catholic Church chose to establish the Basilian mission in Mundare that appears to be responsible for the *uniqueness* of Mundare Ukrainianness, for Mundare Ukrainianness stands out from the rest of rural Ukrainian settlements in the Ukrainian Bloc. This does not mean that the presence of Basilians *defines* today's community, or its continuity, but historically speaking the establishment of the Basilian mission back in 1903 significantly affected the future development of local Ukrainianness in Mundare. The Basilians' and the Sisters' presence in Mundare worked as a catalyst for bringing together broader global patterns in such a way that Mundare Ukrainianness became unique. That the Basilians accomplished this owes to the fact that they acted as the focus in the locality for networks of the Ukrainian transnational order.

All the same, the establishment of the Basilian order in town does not exhaustively account for its Ukrainianness, for Mundare Ukrainianness grew out of a great variety of factors (mass immigration, development of the West, construction of the Canadian National Railways, kinship bonds, pioneer farming, religiosity, its being cut off from Ukraine, and so on). Nevertheless, the Basilians provided the religious and cultural backbone to Ukrainian identity in Mundare in the decades when the community members were living its founding. This happened in Mundare alone; Western Canadian farming,

for example, as a lifestyle and occupation, was shared by all farming communities on the prairies.

In chapter One, I discussed how the Mundare community was founded in time and space and that its Ukrainianness during this founding, and thus for the founding generations in the following decades, was lived. I pointed that for Mundare the issue of its Ukrainianness was not seriously challenged until the 1970s when new experiences threatened the continuity of the local lifeworld. Thus, chapter One sets the stage for the first important question I raised with regard to the experiences of local Ukrainianness in the last decade of the twentieth century: how is the continuity of local Ukrainianness lived locally in the present?

In Chapter Two I explored this question, that of the *continuity* of Mundare Ukrainianness as it has been understood in Mundare within the last quarter of the twentieth century, and examines how it has been maintained through representation. In this chapter I examined the main existing representations of local Ukrainianness from a narrative perspective. Here I examined how local narratives, fixing some aspects of Mundare history and leaving out others, created a meta-narrative, the myth of Mundare's *beginning*. This myth shapes much of public consciousness of Mundarites today. I looked closely at the local history book *Memories of Mundare*, at current displays of the local Ukrainian Museum, owned and run by the Basilian Fathers, and at local Ukrainian family histories written and published on the occasion of family reunions and centennials that are being celebrated now, around the turn of the twenty-first century.

I chose to examine representations that were created within the last quarter of the twentieth century because this period is characterized by I call "times of rupture." The Mundare lifeworld, once established as a community in the mid-1920s, continued through the 1950s. The two decades of the 1950s-70s would be times when local people in their community with several generations living in the same locale, would start experiencing a sense of discontinuity in their seemingly stable world. In the 1970s, the question of *continuity* of local Ukrainianness increasingly occupied the minds of some Mundare people. Changes in the local lifeworld were felt by the farmers as early as the 1950s but it would not be until the 1970s that the community would experience a definite sense of rupture in their once-unquestioned local lifeworld. With the experiences of rupture in one's lifeworld, the question how to assert *continuity* of this lifeworld came to dominate.

The 1950s to 1970s were marked by dramatic socioeconomic changes for the Mundare community. These changes were comparable to other moments of rupture taking place throughout the world, when individuals and communities witnessed the disintegration of their lifeworlds and strongly felt the need to come to terms with a past tradition rapidly disappearing from the present. Starting in the fifties, and throughout the sixties, farmers on the prairies witnessed a major shift in their conditions of life which was brought about by global developments leading to the emergence of new technologies of living. Electricity, water, telephone, and even television started reaching the farmers. The pioneer conditions of life were quickly changing. At the same time, the pioneering generations of Ukrainians started to die out and demographically the ethnic profile of the community started to change.

It is within this context that the need to assert local Ukrainianness in terms of its *continuity* was developed. Stories and narratives describing the "old ways" started to circulate, becoming new folklore. Personal narratives were needed to overcome the sense of rupture which was strongly felt by the 1970s. To overcome this rupture, the community needed to represent its own continuity and the continuity of its Ukrainianness. This was accomplished, I argued, by narrating the *founding* of the community (since the founding was no longer lived, it could now be narrated), and by developing local mythologies of the community's beginning. To be narrated as *continuous* from its *founding*, the Mundare lifeworld and its Ukrainianness needed to have a *beginning* point. The community's continuity was confirmed. But it was only with a beginning point to the story that the narration of Mundare's distinctiveness could start and the continuity make sense.

Local representations of Mundare recreate the history of Mundare relying on a variety of narrative means. An important outcome of this narration is an affirmation of the continuity of local Ukrainianness. This has been achieved by depicting the collective hero of Mundare history as the founder of this locality, community, and its genealogy. The identity of the collective hero of Mundare history has also been informed by the hero's life experiences in this locality. While still an immigrant, the hero founds the locality; while a pioneer, the hero founds the community; and as a family man, he (and as a rule, it is *he*) founds a local genealogy. Thus through such representation the most important aspects of the community's beginning and hence continuity have been spelled out. That is, by representing the creation of the locality from territory by Ukrainian immigrants a point in time is established, which is the moment of the beginning of Mundare Ukrainianness. Here narratives communicate the temporal dimension of Mundare lifeworld since its beginning in time. Representing the pioneers as founders of the community (out of the pluralist locality), local narratives present the rootedness of Mundare Ukrainianness in this locality. And finally, by representing the family man as a founder of local genealogies, Mundare Ukrainianness emerges in narratives framed by its genealogical continuity.

Thus, narrative representations of Mundare lifeworld and its Ukrainianness offer an account of the continuity of local Ukrainianness in terms of the beginning at a certain time and in terms of territorial and genealogical continuity. My narrative analysis uncovers that such representations extensively rely on juxtapositions of "then and now," "here and there," and "us and them" in which "then," "there," and "them" refer to "the old country."

In such juxtaposing, the world of the "old" (i.e., one's ancestors), that is the world of the old country, expressed in terms of *then/there/them*, is mythologized. It is used to legitimate the world of the new, expressed in terms of now/here/us. The old world is seen as disappeared. It is constructed in purely symbolic terms and is empty of the lived content. The new world as founded is discontinuous from the time of the old. Similarly, the lived world of bygone years is also *mythologized*. It is *not lived* anymore by contemporaries, as it was lived in the 1930s by the pioneers, but it has become *represented* in narratives. This world of predecessors is made *explicit*, with contemporaries reflecting upon it in writing. In Schutzian terms, it has also become this world of predecessors, and ceased to be a world of directly experienced reality for

Mundare people, at the time when they were creating their representations of this past world. Thus, through such narrativization the past becomes mediated in the present, ostensibly pointing toward a future whereto the continuity extends, producing the needed effect of an affirmation of continuity. In such a context, the "old country" symbolism and its representations are used in all narratives for the sake of continuity of new *local* Ukrainianness.

But what is the content of representations of today's lifeworld? Is there a content to today's Ukrainianness presented in these narratives? The symbols of the past, of *them, there*, and *then*, are brought up in these narratives only to legitimate the present. This observation returned the study to the question, what is local Ukrainianness for contemporary Mundarites?

In Chapter Three I addressed this question by moving the discussion of what is local Ukrainianness at the turn of the twentieth century to a new level. I suggested moving beyond the level of representations produced during the last quarter of the twentieth century to questions of practice and lived experience. I argued in this chapter that such a move is necessary if one is to account for the *vitality* of today's local Ukrainianness and illustrated, through two ethnographic accounts, how practices reveal the complex *processual* nature of local Ukrainianness and how its *vitality* is achieved.

To understand the vitality of local Ukrainianness is to ask the question how people live it, both reflectively (explicitly) and tacitly (implicitly). One can understand the content of what Schutz calls the lifeworld in how local Ukrainianness is lived. According to Schutz, the lifeworld is constituted in both a world of directly experienced reality, which is the world of my own experiences and the experiences of contemporaries and fellowmen, and a world of my predecessors and successors, which is that world that has already been experienced by my predecessors, and will be experienced by my successors, and therefore only mediatedly experienced in my present. Schutz asserts that this mediatedly experienced world is as constitutive of my experiences of the ongoing lifeworld as the directly experienced reality; both are necessary, neither alone is sufficient (1989: 23-27). In Mundare there is confirmation of this claim in that the world of the predecessors has been successfully mediated into the ongoing lifeworld by means of narrative, for the sake of the lifeworld's successors. In this respect, that of asserting a continuity of the community, these narratives have been successfully contributing to the current state of public consciousness of Mundarites with respect to their lifeworld.

To account for the vitality of local Ukrainianness on the other hand, I chose to discuss two kinds of practices, commemorative practices that continue to assert the continuity of local Ukrainianness (similar to the museum, history book, and local family histories) and routine practices of everyday life. The first kind of practices sheds light on how local Ukrainianness is lived in this locality consciously or *explicitly*. Commemorative practices are intentional and directed at representing local Ukrainianness. The routine practices of Ukrainianness speak of how Ukrainianness is *tacitly lived* through everyday experiences in this community. Two particular events were chosen for the analysis. In the case of commemorative practices I discussed the creation of the Ukrainian murals in town, and in the case of routine practices I discussed what I call the "*baba* phenomenon," the social

institution of community cooking responsible for the maintenance of practically all ritual cycles in the town.

These two events were truly "diagnostic events" (Moore 1994), for they pointed to the array of complex issues behind the question of the vitality of local Ukrainianness. First, the analysis of these practices revealed the *processual nature* of local Ukrainianness and its dependence on local social structures as well as on the *agency* of those who undertaking these practices. Second, the analysis also showed that every time these practices take place, these social structures are also being re-shaped. And third, local commentary on these practices points to the difference between the tacit knowing of Ukrainianness and explicit intentional representations of it.

Taken together, the analysis of both kinds of practices reveal a picture of the complex processual nature of lived Ukrainianness in Mundare. On one hand, the continuity of local Ukrainianness is aggressively asserted through construction of monuments and representations, on the other hand, local commentary (everyday perceptions) revealed that local Ukrainianness, as a *lived* phenomenon, is under threat. In other words, *explicit Ukrainianness*, which is consciously asserted through museum exhibitions, family histories, murals, monuments, and so on, is characterized by its narration of continuity. This narration is undertaken in response to the sense local Mundarites have of a disappearing Ukrainianness, which is experienced implicitly at the level of a tacit Ukrainianness that depends on knowledgeable agents whose numbers are dwindling. Representation and practice, continuity and vitality, are two mutually dependent sides of one phenomenon of local ethnic identity-in-progress as it undergoes change in the context of late modernity.

This returned the study to the question raised in the first chapter. Will Mundare continue as a Ukrainian community or whether it is becoming more of a locality open to other various cultural flows from the outside that may challenge local Ukrainianness.

To answer this question, I suggested taking a step back, in terms of time and for perspective, to acknowledge that contemporary Mundarites are living a different historical moment than their predecessors of ten to fifteen years ago. I am referring here to the changing global conditions that have been finding their reverberations in the town. The global context was responsible for both the formation of the specific Ukrainianness of the Mundare locality in the early twentieth century, and for the ongoing redesign of identity this community has been experiencing since the 1970s. One significant change has been the nature of Ukrainian transnationalism, for in the first decades of the century the global context *was effectively present in the locality via its transnational connections*. With the new political developments of the late 1980s and 1990s (from perestroika to the dissolution of the Soviet Union to Ukraine's independence), the global situation is once again present for Mundare in terms that include stronger transnational connections to Ukraine.

A major difference is whether these connections are effectively present or not. Unlike the founding of Mundare in the first decades of the century where the global context for the locality was defined for the most part through Ukrainian transnationalism, in these last decades of the century Ukrainian transnationalism has no premise for an effective presence in Mundare due to decades and generations cut off from the other. The global

situation is "present" for contemporary Mundare in terms that include transnational connections to Ukraine, but these are connections that are mostly unrealized, that are potential rather than actual. A second major difference resides in that Ukrainian transnationalism (which in 1930s-1980s was mostly a prerogative of the elite responsible for the relations between Ukrainian-Canadian community at large and then Soviet Ukraine) has also become a project of the grassroots. Ordinary Ukrainians, those in Ukraine and Canada, are launching their own projects of transnational interaction. Traveling between the two locales significantly revived, and it is to this revived transnationalism that the study consequently turned.

Chapter Four addressed one particular kind of ongoing challenges to Mundare Ukrainianness that are quite recent. Of all the possible challenges to local Ukrainianness I chose to concentrate on the transnational challenges resulting from immigrants in Mundare recently arrived from Ukraine, both individuals and families. Newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine exemplify a next step in transnational interaction between Mundare and Ukraine: from the minimal contact maintained exclusively at the official level by Ukrainian institutions in Canada and Ukraine during the time of Soviet rule, to the rise of the new social phenomenon of grassroots transnationalism promoted and experienced by ordinary Ukrainians. As well, with the rise of grassroots transnationalism, the social institution of kinship together with social practices of imagination come into the foreground.

Many of the initial developments within grassroots transnational movements undertaken by Western Ukrainians and by Ukrainians in Western Canada have been informed by their own understandings of transnational kinship. There are numerous other challenges to the continuity and vitality of local Ukrainianness, posed by significant developments such as the changing ethnic profile of the community or the increased social mobility of the population in general. Still, at the level of personal interactions the difference is clear: non-Ukrainians by virtue of the insider/outsider politics of identity are disqualified from questioning what local Ukrainianness is, whereas Ukrainians from Ukraine are not, and in fact they do question local Ukrainianness very actively, both explicitly and implicitly.

To account for the transnational challenges of Ukrainian grassroots, I first discussed the issue of transnationalism as such and defined how it is addressed. I suggested a closer examination of two different conceptualizations of kinship as practiced by Ukrainians in rural areas of Western Ukraine and Western Canada. The different concepts of kinship owe to global developments throughout the twentieth century. These global developments played out differently in Mundare and the village of Hrytsevolia (from where several families have come to Mundare during all four Ukrainian immigration waves). As a result different conceptions of kinship emerged in the two locales. Since I had already touched upon how kinship is imagined in the Mundare area in Chapter Two while discussing the creation of the myth of beginning, in Chapter Four I concentrated on the issue of kinship as it is understood in Ukraine. I looked at how the social practice of imagination and local traditional understandings of kinship affected local imaginations of their transnational kinship connections with North American relatives. The discussion continued by outlining how such understandings of kinship were created in the village of Hrytsevolia throughout the twentieth century. This is important, for these understandings, I argued, contribute to the assumptions and expectations held by newly arriving

immigrants from rural areas of Western Ukraine with respect to their Canadian relatives. In its turn, these understandings — of Canadian kin as being a true and real kin to those back in Ukraine — affect immigrants' exercise of *agency* upon their arrival to Western Canada.

Chapter Four also offers a close look at such agency of newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine (and from Hrytsevolia) in the context of their interactions with Mundare Ukrainianness. This is where the question of challenges is raised. One particular family who arrived recently from Western Ukraine have been especially instrumental in addressing and challenging local understandings, representations, and practices of Ukrainianness. Their public and private activities, promoting or simply introducing a new kind of Ukrainianness in this locale, are a novelty to locals. But from local perspectives, this new kind of Ukrainianness comes from the outside and challenges their local understandings of what Ukrainianness is about. Yet, from the perspective of history at large, *Zustreech* practices indicate a new turn in the cultural phenomenon of grassroots transnationalism between local Ukrainianness and the Ukraine's.

The new turn of events, and examination of how the long-separated Ukrainian kin imagine each other and interact – how they engage in the process of rediscovering each other – I found a fascinating topic. In the context of this study, however, these analyses raise the issue of interpretation. How to interpret Chapter Four in terms that are relevant to the future of local Ukrainianness of a Canadian prairie town? Obviously, it is important to do, because the issues discussed in Chapter Four are clearly related to the subject matter of the discussion in Chapters two and three, which was that of the locality's attempt to deal with the times of rupture. This discussion led to analysis of the narration of continuity through representation, and further again through questioning the issue of the content of this continuity, to analysis of practices to gain some notion of how Ukrainianness is lived and wherein resides its vitality. But Mundarites themselves suggested – often without any prompting on my part – that the vitality of local Ukrainianness was dying out, that it seemed intimately tied to particular generations who knew, tacitly, the unspoken process of Ukrainianness and lived it in routine and ritual. It is at this point that I will advance the claim that if Mundare Ukrainianness is to remain vital in the future the locality's active engagement in transnational interactions is essential.

To justify this claim I need to reiterate some points raised in this study, but from the perspective of an acknowledgment of transnational interactions as essential. As already discussed, the reaction of the Mundare community to a perceived threat to its Ukrainianness during the "times of rupture" that extended throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century to the present were primarily met by *a commemorative response.* Histories were written, the museum was built, local families began collecting their own genealogies in published format, and so on. These attempts continue; at the finish of the writing of this study, for example, Mundare had just completed construction of a 40 foot sausage. The aim of these commemorative attempts is to establish a continuity – invariably, according to my argument, via narration – that bridges the rupture and reaffirms the community. These representations and their ongoing production are indisputably essential to local Ukrainianness, as locals themselves (in a striking confirmation of Giddens' thesis of "modern reflexivity"), understand their own

Ukrainianness by way of reference to these representations. In producing these, they are constantly formulating their own mythology and symbols of local Ukrainianness. The importance of this cannot be underplayed. That being said, however, there is another side to this commemorative response and the intention to narrate. This is best brought out by way of reminder of the notion of "preservational intent" mentioned in chapter Two, or the effect of "preserving" the past, especially in authoritative texts, official representations, institutional displays, and so on, can be to transform the past into a myth and symbol purely for the sake of justifying the present. There are two related conclusions to draw from this: one, that continuity as manifest via representations is not enough to account for local Ukrainianness, and two, that what is required in addition to continuity of culture – its vitality – is also that which offsets the negative consequences of a preservational intent. As long as Ukrainianness in the community has sufficient vitality through the practices of knowledgeable agents (e.g., the baba phenomenon), the negative effects of preserving one's past in representations are themselves negated. But, and here we come to the crux of the problem, *if* the vitality of Ukrainianness as practiced, as tacitly known and lived by knowledgeable agents, is waning such that it cannot offset these negative effects, the community stands the very real chance of transforming its Ukrainianness into monuments to the past.

Mundarites themselves perceive the latter as indeed the case: that Ukrainianness is dying out. This perception is justifiable, although I am not certain it is the truth. However, if Ukrainianness matters to this community, the question then becomes what steps they must take to insure its vitality in the present and continuity, not only with the past, but into the future. One such step is the commemorative one: histories, monuments, murals, the production of symbols. My claim is that this is not sufficient. The question turns on the vitality of Ukrainianness as practiced. On what does it, in turn, depend? Despite Mundare's well-established, and well-earned, reputation as a distinctive Ukrainian community on the Canadian prairie, if Ukrainianness is in fact dwindling in Mundare then it has not proven to be, in terms of its local ethnic identity, a self-sustaining Ukrainian community. The community's Ukrainianness is to be sustained as long as those generations rooted in times of its vitality will practice it.

What was it that was responsible for the vitality of the Mundare locality and hence the emergence of Mundare as a distinct Ukrainian community? Recalling Chapter One, it is clear that a host of factors were responsible. However, in general terms there was one feature that determined the social structures of how the community organized itself: Ukrainian transnationalism. The locality was the product of transnational flows occasioned by mass migration. This transnationalism had two main components: the first, at the grassroots level, was the social institution of kinship, brought over from Ukraine and reproduced in the locality in a distinctive way. The second, at the institutional level, was the Basilian Order, which became the headquarters of the Ukrainian Catholic transnational organization. This latter proved the catalyst for drawing together the many historical factors at work in the Mundare locality into a unique configuration from which emerged the distinctive Mundare community. What was at work here that so supported the vitality of local Ukrainianness? I suggest, the manner in which it acted as a focus for intensifying *the interactions of the locality with its transnational connections*. In a word, interaction is what proves crucial for ensuring vitality, and for keeping it self-sustaining.

The locality never operates independently of its global context, but at the time in which the Mundare community emerged into its distinctiveness, what marked the effect of the global context on the locality was mediated through the powerful and effective transnational network that supported the locality. Based in part on this lesson from the past, my claim is that transnational interaction is essential for Mundare Ukrainianness to become not a phenomenon of the past, but an issue in the present and a possibility for the future.

Before I go on to discuss this latter claim, I would like to return to the history of transnational interactions of the Mundare community. The transnational context was always important in the life of Mundare. Looking over the history of Mundare Ukrainianness, *interaction* with Ukraine was essential in Mundare's *becoming* a strong Ukrainian community on the prairies. In the formative years, the 1900s to mid-1920s, while still a locality in the process of self-making, Mundare retained strong links with Ukraine. First, the Basilians and the Sisters were involved in much transnational contact with their headquarter organizations in Ukraine. Traffic between Western Ukraine and Ukrainian Catholic missionaries in Mundare was maintained throughout the 1920s, and Ukrainian Catholic officials from Ukraine were often visiting the town. Second, there was an active interaction between ordinary people in Mundare and their families back in Ukraine. Kinship with Ukraine was still an aspect of everyday life and directly experienced. Two working generations of Mundare Ukrainians were pioneers and founders of the future Mundare community; they themselves had experienced separation from parents and siblings and had *personal* memories of the old country. Third, throughout the twenties, there was still an incoming flow of Ukrainian immigrants reaching Mundare (the second immigration wave) who also contributed to the future vitality of Mundare Ukrainianness for reasons similar to the second. Fourth, those arriving to the Mundare locality with the second immigration wave had also been from the same region of Galicia as those who had already settled down in Mundare, thus reinforcing the social structures already established along kinship lines.

All these developments laid the basis for a distinctive Ukrainian community in Mundare as well as for the *vitality* of its Ukrainianness for several decades. The Ukrainianness of Mundare emerged out of interactions: numerous contestations, conflicts, consensus and disagreements, that took place in the Mundare locality during its formative years. The formative years were times of ongoing *negotiation* over what local Ukrainianness would be. Interaction between local Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians was as important for the development of future identity of Mundare as a Ukrainian town, as it was Mundare's prolonged participation in global Ukrainian cultural flows that circulated between Mundare and Ukraine that secured the vitality for local Ukrainianness for the upcoming decades following the 1920s.

There is another aspect to interaction, and its importance to vitality, that comes to the fore here too, and that finally brings out and clarifies an issue that was raised in Chapter Two but left unresolved. The issue concerned the apparent contradiction between the claim that symbols and representations were crucial to the inner dynamics of the continuity of Ukrainianness, yet this continuity in requiring vitality immediately pointed away from representations to the importance of the tacit knowledge exercised in practices. The contribution of interaction to vitality, in terms of sustaining it through negotiation,

contest, dialogue, etc., suggests that "the symbol" or "the representation" is crucial to the inner dynamics of the continuity of Ukrainianness precisely in inciting a process of interaction amongst those who "use" the symbol or representation. Continuity is enacted through negotiation, contest, dialogue, etc., and is therefore open-ended and pointing toward a future (rather than merely presenting a preserved past) and it is through this interaction, of the symbol or representation as a process, that Ukrainianness gains vitality.

If this argument holds, then, it reinforces my claim as to the importance of Ukrainian transnational interactions with the locality if they wish to maintain their Ukrainianness. Acknowledging the importance of transnationalism for the locality, I will summarize the four original insights concerning transnationalism in relation to the Mundare locality that emerged in this study, focussed as it was on the question: "What is Ukrainianness?"

1. A distinction that develops within the concept of transnationalism itself, that between the official discourse of institutionalized culture, professional knowledge, and the expertise or privilege of elites on the one hand, and that of ordinary persons at the level of everyday life, who belong to non-institutionalized culture and employ traditional knowledge. I call the latter "grassroots transnationalism," and note that as a phenomenon it owes much in the time of late modernity to modern reflexivity and new social practices of imagination.

2. The emergence of Mundare as a unique locality from being merely territory, and its further development as a distinct Ukrainian community on the Canadian prairie, is rooted above all in a context of Ukrainian transnationalism, which on the one hand is structured according to social relations as embodied in the social institution of kinship, and on the other an institutionally structured transnational organization, the Basilian Order (and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate) that established its headquarters in Ukraine.

3. The fundamental difference between the relation of the locality within its global context at the time of the founding of the Mundare community in the first decades of the twentieth century, compared to the last decades of the twentieth century with a newly-independent Ukraine and the rediscovery of the kin. In the former case, the unquestioned premise for the founding of the locality and the emergence of the community within its global context was the effective presence of Ukrainian transnational interactions with the locality. In the latter case, the case that has concerned this study, that of contemporary Mundare in the 1990s (and beyond), Ukrainian transnational connections have again become possible after being cut off for decades and generations, but their effective presence in terms of interactions with the locality are minimal if not negligible. There presence is potential, not actual. Due to the separation of the kin, upon their rediscovery by the Mundare locality, they have been rediscovered in a reversed scenario: there is no premise for an effective presence of Ukrainian transnational interactions within the Mundare locality.[125]

4. The type of Ukrainian transnationalism that was instrumental for the founding of the Mundare locality and community, represented by the Basilian order, was institutional, while the grassroots transnationalism of kinship played an important, but secondary, role.

---

[125] This study itself, based on ethnographic analysis with an emphasis on the historical, is a contribution towards establishing just such a premise.

Today, grassroots transnationalism has far greater possibilities than in the early part of the century, and it may, indeed, be here that there is a role to be played for Mundare Ukrainianness. (The examples of Hrytsevolia and *Zustreech* in Chapter Four could be interpreted as evidence for this possibility.)

In the 1990s Ukraine became independent, and another transnational moment began in the history of Mundare. Interaction with Ukraine revived not only within official Ukrainian-Canadian culture, but in such a seemingly remote small prairie town as Mundare as well. The Basilians once again are receiving novitiates from Ukraine. Local farmers marry visiting Ukrainian women. The local museum receives delegations from Ukraine. Mundarites go to Ukraine to explore their personal pasts and discover there the still-living kin descended from common ancestors. Even Ukrainians from Ukraine immigrated to Mundare.

These transnational interactions of the 1990s set a new basis for the revival of vitality of local Ukrainianness. If the vitality of Mundare Ukrainianness is not self-sustaining anymore, if those who share tacit knowing of Ukrainian practices are dying out, then it becomes difficult to foresee a continuity of Ukrainianness in the future. If the vitality of Mundare Ukrainianness is proving not to be self-sustaining it is not only because of the dwindling numbers of its knowledgeable agents as the older generation dies out, but also because there is a dwindling of interactions between local Ukrainianness and its transnational connections. The arrival to Mundare of Ukrainians from Ukraine also marked out the arrival to this locality of a new type of knowledgeable agents of Ukrainianness. Will this serve to "revitalize" and "redefine" local Ukrainianness, as the museum display cited at the beginning of this study claimed?

This question has proved difficult to answer; it depends on much, not least the question if local Ukrainianness matters to the Mundare community. What is certain is that the original claim of official discourse, that the Ukrainian-Canadian community was responsible for preserving authentic Ukrainian culture while Ukraine was under Soviet rule, is certainly not true. Conversely, the notion that the overseas kin from a newly independent Ukraine will restore authentic Ukrainian culture to a waning Ukrainianness in the diaspora, is equally problematic. The public negotiation of Ukrainianness between Mundarites and recent immigrants from Ukraine proves to be composed of more *mis*communication than actual dialogue. Dialogue presupposes that perspectives on what Ukrainianness is would be mutually understood and considered, even if rejected. But as was illustrated in Chapter Four, the tacit knowing of Ukrainians from Ukraine, shaped by different historical circumstances, informs very different everyday practices and performances of Ukrainianness. This stirred up in Mundare a new round of negotiations over "who are Ukrainians," and "what is Ukrainianness?"

And despite the fact that at this particular moment acceptance of Ukrainianness from Ukraine unfolds mostly on the level of visible symbols of Ukrainian culture – that are indeed shared by Mundarites and the immigrants – many locals for whom their own Ukrainianness still matters, either accept this new kind of Ukrainianness wholeheartedly ("they are from Ukraine, therefore they are true Ukrainians"), or contest it ("they are not Ukrainians, they were Russified there") or, most likely, fall somewhere in between these extremes. What matters here is that negotiation of local Ukrainianness is on its way

again, as it was in the formative years of Ukrainianness of Mundare, or in the 1950s when post-world war two immigrants started to arrive to Mundare and vicinity. It is not the question whose Ukrainianness is more authentic, the local's or the native's, for authenticity is an invention of ideologues. The question, or rather the point, is that with the introduction of a new round of identity negotiation Ukrainianness is once again revived, and moved from the domain of the past into the future. Through the interactions made possible to the locality by its revived transnational connections with Ukraine, the question of local Ukrainianness can be taken up in a vital way, and through such negotiation, contest, and dialogue, point to a Ukrainianness still awaiting its realization by a community – local, transnational, or otherwise – in the future.

Bibliography

ACUA VITAE (A Bi-Annual Publication of the Alberta Council for the Ukrainian Arts). Vol. 6, No. 1 June 1997.

Alberta Municipal Affairs, Population List Towns. February 14, 1994.

Alexander, Anne. 1991. "Showcase: from Ukraine with a Whole Lot of Love." *Edmonton Sun*, January 13.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 1991. "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology." In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, edited by Richard G. Fox, 191-216. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

———. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture and Society*, London: SAGE. (7): 296-310.

Azarya, Victor. 1989 [1985]. "Community." In *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, edited by Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper, 125-137. Routledge: London and New York.

Babiy, Harry. 1980. "Babiy Family," In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 178-180. Mundare.

Bahry, Alfred. 1980. "Mundare: A Look Back." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare: Historical Society, 8-28. Mundare.

Bandura, Nick. 1980. "Bandura, Andrew" In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 181-184. Mundare.

Balan, Jars. 1997. "Basilian Fathers Launch New Exhibit." *Alberta: Museums Review*. 2: 5.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, edited by Michael Holquist, transl. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 84-259. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.

Basch, Linda G., Cristina Szanton Blanc and Nina Glick Schiller. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States.* Langhorne, Pa.: Gordon and Breach.

Basilian Fathers Museum. 1997. *Visitor's Museum Leaflet.*

"Basilian Fathers Museum is Alberta's Best Kept Secret." *Advertiser (Vegreville, Alberta).* April 17, 2000. Pp. 35, 37.

Basilian Fathers Museum Website. http://www.wcr.ab.ca/mundap24.htm

Bentley, G. Carter. 1987. "Ethnicity and Practice." *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 29 (1): 25-55.

"Bernice Hewko Browne." 1980. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 210-11. Mundare.

Bilyk, Ed. 1980. "Paul D. Bilyk – Family," In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 201-203. Mundare.

Bilyk, G. 1980. "Bilyk, John A. and Katherine." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 200-201. Mundare.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990 [1980]. *The logic of Practice.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Braudel, Fernand. 1980. *On History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bruner, Jerome. 1990. *Acts of Meaning.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Canada Census. 1996. http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/list.htm#1996

Carlyle, William J. 1989. "Farm Population in the Canadian Parkland." *Geographical Review*, New York, New York. 79 (1): 13-35.

Chmiliar, Joe, and Chmiliar, Olga. 1980. "Chmiliar, Joe and Olga." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 215-17. Mundare.

Clark, Katerina, and Holquist, Michael. 1984. *Mikhail Bakhtin.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge and London.

Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Conway, Martin A. 1997. "The Inventory of the Experience: Memory and Identity." In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, edited by James. W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Berhard Rimé. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cooke, Phillip. 1990. "Locality, Structure, and Agency: A Theoretical Analysis." *Cultural Anthropology* 5(1): 3-15.

Cornell, Stephen. 2000. "That's the Story of Our Life." In *We Are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity*, edited by Paul Spickard and W. J. Burroughs, 41-53. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Danziger, Kurt. 1990. *From Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of psychological research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Darcovich, William and Yuzyk, Paul, eds. 1980. *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Diiesperov, Volodymyr. 1998. "Selo stalo kartoiu politychnoi hry." *Viche* 4 (73): 67-78.

Douglas, Mary, and Isherwood, Baron. 1979. *The World of Goods.* New York: Basic Books.

"Dream With Me of Days Gone By." 1980. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, vi. Mundare.

Dowbush Centennial Reunion, 1899-1999. 1999.

Durkheim, E. 1915. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* Transl. By Swain J. W. London: Allen & Unwin.

Eleniak History and Family Tree. 1991.

Fame and Despair: The History of the Holovach Stetsko, 1897-2000. 2000.

Freeing the Spirit: A History of the Holowach, Skitsko, Woitas and Zacharko Families at Skaro, Alberta. 1897-2000. 2000.

Frijda, Nico H. "Commemorating." In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives,* edited by James. W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Berhard Rimé, 103-127. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

From Generation to Generation/Z rodu v rid. (Romaniuk Family History). 1992.

Geertz, Clifford. 1961.*The Social History of an Indonesian Town.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

———. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Gergen, K.J., and Gergen, M.M. 1983. "Narratives of the self." In *Studies in Social identity,* edited by T.R. Sabrin and K.E. Scheibe, 254-273. New York: Praeger.

Giddens, Anthony, 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the late Modern Age.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. 1976. *New Rules of Sociological Method : A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies.* London: Hutchinson.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Greenhill, Pauline. 1997. *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Selling Stratford as an English place.* Lectures and papers in ethnicity; No. 24. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Golinowski, Jason. 1999. *Gold, Silver, Bronze: Reflections on a Ukrainian Dance Competition.* M.A. thesis in Ukrainian Folklore. University of Alberta.

Goody, Jack. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1992. "Oral Culture." In *Folklore: Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainment*, edited by Richard Bauman, 13-20.

The Gulevich Family in Canada, 1901-1991. 1991.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. "The World in Creolization." *Africa* 57(4): 546-559.

———. 1996. *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places.* Routledge: New York.

Harasym, Rose T. 1982."Ukrainians in Canadian Political Life." *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, edited by M. Lupul, Toronto: The Canadian Publishers.

Harrison, Tracey. 1991. *Place Names of Alberta (Volume 3, Central Alberta)*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Harvey , D. 1989. *The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Oxford; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Hergot, Barbara. 2000. *Obraz - Portrait of Three.* (Term paper submitted for UKR 499X5). Paper may be accessed through the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta

Hewko, Walter. 1980. "Hewko, Mike N. Family." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 3821-3283. Mundare.

Hicks, Mary 1980. "Biography John Osmack Family." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 416-419. Mundare.

Himka, John-Paul. 1988a. "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 10-23. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

———. 1988b. *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*. Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Hinchman, Lewis P, and Hinchman, Sandra K., eds. 1997. *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences*. New York: SUNY Press.

History and Description of Business (A brief outline of Stawnichy's meat processing plant). 1997.

Hobart C.W. et al., ed. 1967(?). *Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta*. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Ranger, Terence, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hnatiuk, Volodymyr. 1902. "Pisenni novotvory v ukraiins'ko-rus'kiy narodniy slovesnosty" [New songs in Ukrainian-Ruthenian Folklore]. In *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva Shevchenka*, vol. XI (VI), edited by M. Hrushevs'kyi, 1-37. Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka.

———. 1903. "Pisenni novotvory v ukraiins'ko-rus'kiy narodniy slovesnosty" [New songs in Ukrainian-Ruthenian Folklore]. In *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva Shevchenka*, vol. XII (II)., edited by M. Hrushevs'kyi, 6-67. Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka.

Holquist, Michael, and Clark, Katerina. 1984. *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge, Ma: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Husserl, Edmund. 1970 [1954]. *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

In Tribute To Basilian Pioneers, 1902-1977. 1977. Edmonton: Ukrainian News Publishers.

Ivan & Anna Weleschuk. From Generation to Generation: 100 years of Memories, 1897-1997. 1997.

Kazymyra, Bohdan. 1961. *Pershyi Vasyliianyn u Kanadi* [The First Basilian in Canada]. Toronto: Dobra knyzhka.

Kelly, C.D. 1980. "Autobiography of a Pioneer Teacher," In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 295-296. Mundare.

Klymasz, Robert. 1969. "The Letter in Canadian Ukrainian Folklore." *Journal of the Folklore Institute.* Indiana University. 6: 39-49.

———. 1973. *Folk Narrative among Ukrainian-Canadians in Western Canada.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies.

———. 1992. *Svieto: Celebrating Ukrainian Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta through the Generations.* Edited by Radomir B. Bilash. Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism. Historical Resources Division.

———. 1970 (?). *Klymasz Collection : Lists of Contents of Feldwork Audiotapes (1961-1969).* The Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies. The National Museum of Man. The National Museums of Canada. Ottawa. Ontario.

Kolodychuk Family History. 1999.

Kordan, Bohdan. 1985. *Ukrainian Community Needs Assessment Study: Prairie Region.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Kostash, Myrna. 1977. "Baba was a Bohunk: As so I am - a Stranger, Despite Three Generations in Canada." *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies.* Edmonton, CIUS, Toronto: Harmony Printers. Spring (2): 69-78.

The Koziak Family Reunion Book. [no date].

Krotki, Joanna E. 1980. *Local Histories of Alberta: An Annotated Bibliography.* Edmonton : Division of East European Studies, University of Alberta.

Lazarenko, Joseph M., ed. 1970. *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada.* Edmonton.

———. 1980. "Damian Lazarenko and Family." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 341-5. Mundare.

Lehr, John. 1975. "The Rural Settlement Behavior of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada 1891-1914." *Western Canadian Research in Geography: The Lethbridge Papers.* B.C. Geographical Series. 21: 51-66.

———. 1985. "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West." *The Canadian Geographer.* 29(3): 207-219.

Lewis, E.D. 1998. "Don Alésu's Quest: The Mythohistorical Origins of the Rajadom of Sikka." *History and Anthropology.* 11 (1): 39-74.

"Lysyk, William and Elizabeth." 1980. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 356. Mundare.

MacGregor. J.G. 1969. *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Makuch, Andrij. 1988. "*Narodni Domy* in East Central Alberta." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 202-210. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Martynowych, Orest 1991. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891- 1924.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Marunchak, M. 1970. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History.* Winnipeg, Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.

Mary Immaculate Hospital, Mundare, Alberta 1929-1979: 50th Jubiliee. 1979.

McAllister, Marge. 1980. "J.D.McAllister Family." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 1-6. Mundare.

"Millenial Project portraying Ukrainian History in Mundare area unveiled." *Vegreville (Alberta) Observer.* August 25, 2000.

Moore, Byron. 1980. "The Railroad ... Part of Mundare's History." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare: Historical Society, 6-8. Mundare.

Moore, Sally. 1994. "The Ethnography of the Present and the Analysis of Process." In *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, Ed. by Robert Borofsky, 362-376. New York: McGraw-Hill.

———. 1987. "Explaining the Present: Theoretical Dilemmas in Processual Ethnography." *American Ethnologist* 14 (4) 727-736.

———. 1986. *Social facts and fabrications: "customary" law on Kilimanjaro, 1880-1980.* Cambridge, New York : Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Moszczanski Family Reunion Dinner Program. 1997.

Mundare Commnuty Calendar. 1998, 1999, 2000. Mundare Public Library.

Mundare Historical Society (author). 1980. *Memories of Mundare: a History of Mundare and Districts.* Edmonton: Friesen Printers.

Mundare School Group Discussions. January and February 2001. Unpublished field data.

Nahachewsky, Andriy. 1991. *The Kolomyika: Change and Diversity in Canadian Ukrainian Folk Dance.* Vol. 1 and 2. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Alberta, Edmonton.

"New Exhibits Opening at Basilian Fathers Museum." *Vegreville (Alberta) Observer.* May 5, 2000.

Noll, William. 1999. *Transformatsiia hromadianskoho suspilstva: Usna istoriia ukraiinskoii selianskoii kultury 1920-30 rokiv* [Transformation of Civil Society: Oral History of Ukrainian Peasant Culture in 1920-30s]. Kyiv: Rodovid.

Novakowski, Ken. 1980. "Novakowski Mike and Kate." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 405-409. Mundare.

Ohmae, Kenichi. 1990. *The Borderless World.* New York: Harper Business.

Olender, Vivian. 1988. "The Cultural Implications of Protestant Missions." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 221-232. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Olrik, Axel. 1992 [1921]. *Principles for Oral Narrative Research.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Ong, Walter J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word.* London, New York: Methuen.

Our Heritage: Chmelyk Family, 1899-1999. 1999.

"P. Bahry." 1980. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 180-181. Mundare.

Pennebaker, James W. and Banasik, Becky L. 1997. "On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memories: History as Social Psychology." In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives,* edited by James. W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Berhard Rimé, 3-19. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Petryshyn, W. Bohdan. 1978. "The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition." In *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 74-97. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Pohospodars'ka knyha Berezivs'koii sil's'koii rady narodnykh deputativ, 1996-1999" (Household Statistics Book of Berezivka Rural Council of People's Deputates, 1996-1999). 1999. vol. 6. Berezivka Rural Council Archives, Berezivka, Lvivs'ka obl.

The Pipella Family Centennial, 1898-1998. 1998.

Polanyi, Michael. 1966. *The Tacit Dimension.* Garden City: New York.

Polomark, Gwen 1980. Natural History. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts.* Edited by Mundare Historical Society, 1-6. Mundare.

Procinsky, Jessie. 1980. "Fedun, Wm. P. and Molly." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts.* Edited by Mundare Historical Society, 256-258. Mundare.

Propamiatna knyha otsiv Vasyliian u Kanadi; 50 lit na sluzhbi Bohovi i narodovi (1902-1952) [Memorial Book of the Basilian Fathers in Canada: 50 Years of Serving God and People]. 1953. Toronto: Basilian Fathers Press.

Propp, Vladimir. 1968 [1928]. *Morphology of the Folk Tale.* Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1964. *The Andaman Islanders.* New York: New York Free Press.

Redfield, Robert. 1960. *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ries, Nancy. 1997. *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroyka.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Robertson, R. 1990. "Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept." In Theory, Culture, and Society, vol. 7, 15-30. SAGE, London, Newbury Park, and New Dehli: SAGE.

Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization.* London: Sage.

Rohatynskyj, P. 1972. "Zarobitchanska i politychna emihracia z Butchachyny" [Labour and Political Migration from Buchach Region]. In *The City of Butchach and Its Region: A Historical and Memoiristical Collection,* vol. XXVII. New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Romaniuk Hrubizna, Mildred, 1980. "Romaniuk, Wasyl and Mary." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 441-444. Mundare.

"Roman Warawa Family, 1900-1980." 1980. In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 522-523. Mundare.

Roosens, Eugeen. 1994. "The Primordial Nature of Origins in Migrant Ethnicity." In *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,* edited by Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers, 81-104. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Rouse, Roger. 1991. "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism." *Diaspora.* 1 (1) : 8-23.

Safran, William. 1991. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora.* 1 (1): 83-99.

———. 1999. "Comparing Diasporas: A Review Essay." *Diaspora* 8(3): 255-291.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1985. *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schnapper, Dominiqe. 1999. "From the Nation-State to the Transnational World: On the Meaning and Usefulness of Diaspora as a Concept." *Diaspora* 8(3): 225-254.

Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds. 1992. *Towards Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered.* New York: The New York Academy of Sciences.

Schutz, Alfred. 1967 [1932]. *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, transl. by George Walsh and Frederick Lehnert . Evanson [III]: Northwestern University Press.

Schutz, Alfred, and Luckmann, Thomas. 1989. *Strukturen der Lebenswelt* [The Structures of the Life-World]. Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Engelhardt (transl.). Evanson [III]: Northwestern University Press.

Sewell, William H. A 1992. "Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation." *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1) : 1-29.

Sr. Sylvia. 1980. "Mundare Hospital." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*. Edited by Mundare Historical Society, 79-83. Mundare.

Shils, Edward. 1981. *Tradition*. London: Faber.

Shostak, Natalia. 1999. Scholastic Before and Scholarly After? Ukrainian Folklorists and Their Folklore after 1991. *Ethnologies: Post Socialist Ethnography*, 21(2): 73-97.

Shpychak, O. 1996. "Ahrarna Reforma v Ukraini ta rol' ekonomichnoi nauky v ii realizatsii"[Agrarian Reform in Ukraine and the Role of the Economic Science in Its Realization]. *Economika APK* 8: 3-12.

Siracky, J. 1997. *Fourth Generation* (Speech for the Mundare museum exhibit opening). October 12, 1997.

"Site Work Should Begin within Couple of Weeks for Sausage Monument." *The Vegreville (Alberta) Observer*. August 1, 2000.

Skrbis, Z. 1997. "Homeland-Diaspora Relations: From Passive to Active Interactions." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*. 6 (3-4): 439-455.

Skultans, V. 1998. *The Testimony of Lives: Narrative and Memory in Post-Soviet Latvia.* London & New York: Routledge.

Smith. A. D. 1984. "Ethnic Myths and Ethnic Revivals." *European Journal of Sociology* 25: 283-305.

———. 1988. "The Myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the Myths of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 11 (1): 1-25.

———. 1991. *National Identity.* Reno: Universiyt of Nevada Press.

———. 1992. "Chosen Peoples: Why Ethnic Groups Survive." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15(3) : 436-456.

Son, Anthony. 1980. "John Savich Family." In *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts*, edited by Mundare Historical Society, 457-459. Mundare.

Stefanyk, Vasyl. 1973 [1899]. "A Stone Cross." In *A Study of Vasyl' Stefanyk: The Pain at the Heart of Existence*, by D.S. Struk, transl. by D.S. Struk, 145-154. Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press.

Stiles, Joanne S. 1990. "Descended from Heroes: the Frontier Myth in Rural Alberta." *Alberta* 2 (2): 27-46.

Svarich, Peter . 1999. *Memoirs (1877-1904)*, transl. by Willian Kostash, edited by Rita Dirks, Bohdan Medwidsky, and Andriy Nahachewsky. Edmonton, Alberta: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, Hucular Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography.

Svirs'kyi, Nikon N. 1963. Tudy lynut' nashi sertsia: istoriia monders'koho manastyria [Our Hearts Go There: History of Mundare Monastery]. Monder: vydavnytstvo Ottsiv Vasyliian.

Swyripa, Frances. 1976. *Canadian National Railway 1905-1906 Urban Points*, vol. 2. Report submitted to the Director, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village.

———. 1991. "From Sheepskin Coat to Blue Jeans: A Brief History of Ukrainians in Canada." In *Art and Ethnicity*, edited by R.B. Klymasz, 11-27. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

———. 1991. "Ukrainians." In *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, edited by Paul Magocsi, 1281-1311. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tesla, I. 1976. "Demography of Ukrainian Canadians." In *Immigration: Ukrainian Canadian*, edited by J.B.Gregorovich, 1-53. Toronto: Orelets Press.

Thomas and Mary Halas Family Reunion. 1991.

Tololyan, Khachig. 1991. "The Nation State and Others, in Lieu of a Prefice." *Diaspora* 1: 3-7.

———. 1996. "Rethinking Diasporas: Stateless Power in the Transnational Context." *Diaspora* 5: 3-36.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1957 [1887]. *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, transl. By Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure.* Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.

Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Tymko and Tekla Koroluk Family History: Celebrating 100 years. 1898-1991. 1991.

Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta. 1981. *Ukrainians in Alberta*, vol. 2. Edmonton: The Association.

Uwin Centennial: Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of Settlement Uwin, Alberta, Canada. For the Families of Damian and Anastasia Witiuk and Philip and Anna Fedun. 1998.

Verdery, Katherine. 1994. "Ethnicity, Nationalism, and State-Making." In *'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries': Past and Future.* In *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,'* edited by Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers, 33-58. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Voinar, Meletii. 1950. *Vasyliiany v ukrains'kim narodi* [Basilians in (the History of) Ukrainian People]. Niu Iork: Vydavnytstvo O.O. Vasyliian.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. 1999. *The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-First Century.* Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. 1991. *Unthinking Social Science: theLimits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms.* Cambridge [England]: Polity Press in association with B. Blackwell.

White, Hayden 1987 [1984]. "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory." In *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Collection of essays by Hayden White),* 26-57. Baltimor and London: John Hopkins University Press.

White, Hayden. 1987. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

The Woitas Centennial, Skaro, Alberta, 1897-1997. 1997.

"The Woman Behind the Museums." *Redwater (Alberta).* Vol. 11, No. 27, May 22, 2000.

Yakymyshyn, (Fr.), ed. 1969. *Mundare: Yesterday and Today.* Toronto: Basilian Press.

Zhovtaniuk, Ihor. 1998. "Ahrarne pidpryiemnytstvo. Buty chy ne buty?" [Agrarian Entrepreneurship: To Be or Not to Be?] *Viche* 4(73): 62-67.

'Zustreech' Ukrainian Society Newsletter (Mundare). Vol. 1. Issue 1. January 1997.

Zvit po naselenniu na 01.01.99 Berezivs'koii sil's'koii rady, (01.01.1999. Population Report Prepared by the Berezivka Rural Council). 1999. Berezivka Rural Council Archives, Berezivka, Lvivs'ka obl.

Interviews

Bakus'ko, Iaroslav. Mundare. Recorded interview. March 17, 1999.

Batiuk, John and Rose. Mundare. Personal communication. October 1997.

Bendera, Alex, and Stawnichy, Edward. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 14, 1998.

Bendera, Alex. Mundare. Recorded interview. February 7, 1999.

Chmiliar, Peter. Mundare. Personal communication. October 6, 1997.

Fedorkevych, Jaroslaw. Edmonton. Recorded interview. January 24, 1998.

Golinowski, Maria. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 31, 2001.

Hergot, Barbara. Vegreville. Personal communication. December 2, 2000.

Humeniuk, Beth. Mundare. Personal communication. October 1997.

K., Svitlana. Edmonton. Recorded Interview. March 25, 1999.

Kassian, Lucy. Mundare. Personal communication. October 6, 1997.

Kotlarchuk, Eva. Mundare. Personal communication. October 6, 1997.

Krokhmal, Kateryna. Hrytsevolia. Recorded interview. May 1999.

Mandiuk, Marilyn. Mundare. Recorded interview. December 16, 2000.

———. Mundare. Personal communication. March 1, 2001.

Mandzia, Genia. Hrytsevolia. Personal communication. May 7, 1998.

Miskey, Mike. Edmonton. Recorded interview. November 1997.

Osada, Nadia. Mundare. Personal communication. October 7, 1997.

Ostrovs'ka, Iulia. Hrytsevolia. Recorded interview. May 1999.

Pawluk, Christine. Mundare. Recorded interview. November 1, 2000.

———. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 23, 2001.

———. Mundare. Personal communication. October 2000.

Pivovarchuk, Bogdan. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 14, 1998.

———. Mundare. Personal communication. March 17, 1998.

Pivovarchyk, Bogdan, and Pivovarchuk, Iryna. Mundare. Recorded interview. March 21, 2001.

Pivovarchuk, Iryna, and Pivovarchuk, Bogdan. Mundare. Recorded interview. March 21, 2001.

Polomark, Gwen. Mundare. Phone conversation. June 8, 2000.

Princ, Brenda. Mundare. Personal communication. October 1997.

Pylypchuk, Mykhailo. Hrytsevolia. Personal communication. May 17, 1999.

Pyvovarchuk, Hanna. Hrytsevolia. Recorded interview. May 8, 1998.

Rais, Dagmar. Mundare. Personal communication. June 11, 2000.

Rudiak, Rosaline. Mundare. Personal communication. January 14, 1999.

Siracky, Leonard. Mundare. Personal communication. November 1998.

Siracky, Clarence. Mundare. Personal communication. October 17, 1998.

Sereda, Lloyd (and Sereda, Marcia). Mundare. Recorded interview. December 4, 1998.

Sereda, Marcia. Mundare. Personal communication. February 1999.

Shelast, Mary. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 13, 1998,

———. Mundare. Recorded interview. September 20, 1998.

Shelast, Mary. Mundare. Personal communication October 1, 2000.

Slepanki, Doris. Mundare. Recorded interview. October 1997.

Smal', Maria (Maryntsiunia). Hrytsevolia. Recorded interviews. May 17, 1998, and May 21, 1999.

Stawnichy, Edward, and Bendera, Alex. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 14, 1998.

Sus, Stepan. Hrytsevolia. Personal communication. May 12. 1999.

Tichon, Katy. Mundare. Recorded interview. March 1, 2001.

Trach, Nadia. Hrytsevolia. Personal communication. May 10, 1999.

Tomyn, Georgina. Vegreville. Recorded interview. December 2, 2000.

Tymchuk, Evelyn. Mundare. Recorded interview. January 23, 2001.

Warawa, Roman and Elsie. Recorded interview. December 8, 2000.

Wirstiuk, Peter. Andrew. Recorded interview. January 12, 2001.

Woloshuk, Marsha. Mundare. Personal communication. October 20 and 21, 2000.

Zacharkiw, Sylvia. Mundare. Personal communication. September 30, 1997.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Population in 1996 and 1991, Lamont county, Mundare and other towns. Compiled from data collected by 1996 Canada Census (Statistics Canada)

	— LAMONT COUNTY	— ANDREW	— MUNDARE	CHIPMAN	— LAMONT	— BRUDERHEIM
Population, 1991 (100% data)	4266.00	520.00	596.00	208.00	1574.00	1208.00
Population, 1996 (100% data)	4212.00	484.00	578.00	230.00	1581.00	1198.00
Population percentage change, 1991-1996	-1.30	-6.90	-3.00	10.60	0.40	-0.80
Male, total	2220.00	240.00	280.00	120.00	750.00	595.00
15-19	165.00	10.00	25.00	5.00	45.00	60.00
20-24	90.00	10.00	15.00	5.00	30.00	25.00
25-29	105.00	15.00	15.00	5.00	35.00	35.00
30-34	135.00	15.00	10.00	0.00	45.00	60.00
35-39	180.00	15.00	30.00	10.00	60.00	55.00
40-44	185.00	10.00	15.00	10.00	65.00	60.00
45-49	165.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	50.00	45.00
50-54	150.00	10.00	20.00	5.00	35.00	20.00
55-59	135.00	10.00	20.00	10.00	30.00	20.00
60-64	140.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	45.00	15.00
65-69	110.00	30.00	15.00	10.00	40.00	20.00
70-74	110.00	10.00	20.00	5.00	30.00	10.00
75-79	55.00	15.00	15.00	5.00	35.00	10.00
80-84	45.00	15.00	20.00	5.00	25.00	0.00
85+	20.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	20.00	0.00
Female, total	1995.00	245.00	295.00	105.00	835.00	600.00
15-19	150.00	10.00	15.00	10.00	55.00	40.00
20-24	60.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	30.00	25.00
25-29	95.00	10.00	5.00	10.00	35.00	40.00
30-34	115.00	15.00	20.00	5.00	55.00	55.00
35-39	175.00	5.00	15.00	10.00	55.00	65.00
40-44	155.00	15.00	20.00	10.00	50.00	55.00
45-49	170.00	10.00	15.00	10.00	55.00	30.00
50-54	125.00	5.00	20.00	5.00	35.00	20.00
55-59	125.00	15.00	10.00	5.00	40.00	20.00
60-64	110.00	20.00	20.00	5.00	35.00	20.00
65-69	85.00	15.00	15.00	5.00	40.00	15.00
70-74	70.00	20.00	20.00	5.00	40.00	20.00
75-79	55.00	20.00	20.00	5.00	50.00	10.00
80-84	45.00	20.00	25.00	0.00	45.00	5.00
85+	30.00	10.00	30.00	0.00	35.00	0.00

Appendix 2. Ethnic origin of population of Mundare and Lamont county. Compiled from data collected by 1996 Canada Census (Statistics Canada)

Profile	LAMONT county	Andrew	Mundare	Chipman	Lamont (town)	Bruderheim
Total population by Aboriginal groups and non-Aboriginal population (20% sample data)	4180.00	460.00	540.00	230.00	1470.00	1215.00
Total Aboriginal population	65.00	20.00	35.00	0.00	15.00	30.00
North American Indian single response	25.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
Métis single response	30.00	10.00	30.00	0.00	15.00	25.00
Total non-Aboriginal population	4120.00	440.00	500.00	230.00	1460.00	1180.00
Total population by ethnic origin (single and multiple responses) (20% sample data)	4180.00	465.00	540.00	230.00	1475.00	1215.00
Total population - Single responses	2645.00	315.00	345.00	135.00	815.00	550.00
Total population - Multiple responses	1535.00	145.00	195.00	90.00	655.00	660.00
Canadian - Total responses	860.00	115.00	45.00	95.00	350.00	350.00
Canadian - Single responses	520.00	30.00	35.00	75.00	190.00	195.00
Canadian - Multiple responses	340.00	80.00	10.00	20.00	155.00	155.00
French - Total responses	195.00	50.00	65.00	20.00	95.00	210.00
French - Single responses	40.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	25.00	55.00
French - Multiple responses	160.00	50.00	60.00	20.00	70.00	155.00
English - Total responses	800.00	35.00	100.00	100.00	255.00	325.00
English - Single responses	260.00	10.00	20.00	10.00	30.00	45.00
English - Multiple responses	540.00	25.00	75.00	90.00	220.00	285.00
Chinese - Total responses	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
Chinese - Single responses	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
German - Total responses	655.00	30.00	50.00	20.00	280.00	320.00
German - Single responses	155.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	100.00	115.00
German - Multiple responses	500.00	25.00	30.00	20.00	185.00	205.00
Scottish - Total responses	515.00	15.00	60.00	20.00	115.00	240.00
Scottish - Single responses	50.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	35.00
Scottish - Multiple responses	465.00	0.00	55.00	15.00	105.00	205.00
Irish - Total responses	355.00	15.00	70.00	15.00	230.00	220.00
Irish - Single responses	20.00	0.00	15.00	10.00	15.00	10.00

Irish - Multiple responses	330.00	10.00	55.00	15.00	215.00	205.00
North American Indian - Total responses	35.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	15.00	15.00
North American Indian - Single responses	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
North American Indian - Multiple responses	35.00	20.00	15.00	0.00	10.00	15.00
Ukrainian - Total responses	2105.00	315.00	280.00	55.00	670.00	150.00
Ukrainian - Single responses	1400.00	220.00	190.00	30.00	380.00	20.00
Ukrainian - Multiple responses	700.00	90.00	85.00	25.00	290.00	120.00
Dutch (Netherlands) - Total responses	115.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.00	105.00
Polish - Total responses	390.00	10.00	70.00	0.00	210.00	45.00
Polish - Single responses	65.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	35.00	0.00
Polish - Multiple responses	320.00	0.00	65.00	0.00	175.00	45.00
Métis - Total responses	60.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	20.00
Métis - Single responses	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Métis - Multiple responses	60.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	15.00
Norwegian - Total responses	90.00	15.00	0.00	10.00	40.00	80.00
Norwegian - Single responses	10.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	0.00
Danish - Total responses	35.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	25.00
Welsh - Multiple responses	40.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	35.00
Total - Total population by visible minority population	4180.00	460.00	540.00	230.00	1470.00	1215.00
Total visible minority population	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	30.00	10.00
Black	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chinese	10.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Appendix 3. Total Immigration from Ukraine to Canada, Alberta, Edmonton, and the rest of Alberta. Compiled from data collected by 1996 Canada Census (Statistics Canada)*

PERIOD	Place of Birth	Immigrated to Canada	Immigrated to Alberta	Immigrated to: Edmonton
Total - Period of immigration (1961-1996)	Ukraine	41880	5190	2660
Before 1961	--	27645	3800	1745
1961-1970	--	1970	200	125
1971-1980	--	2275	200	120
1981-1990	--	2455	270	155
1991-1996	--	7535	710	510

* this statistics does not reflect number of those with the status of 'visitor' or a 'foreign student'